

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

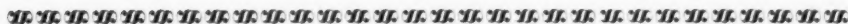


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EACH morning as I motor to Salem, I drive along the shallow tidal water usually known as the Danvers River. Actually, its navigable parts are made up of three small rivers, which converge in the vicinity of Danversport, together with the Bass River coming in from Beverly and the North River from Salem. I am constantly amazed at the increasing number of small craft of all kinds that almost literally cover the water of these obscure anchorages and are hauled out in yards along the shore.

Most of these boats can come under the bridges between Salem and Beverly, but there is a sprinkling of loftier craft that must go to the nuisance of having the draws opened for them. As one would suppose, pleasure boats predominate. However, a few lobster fishermen swing with the tide and 'heavy shipping' in the river consists exclusively of *Lucy*, *Lucy Reinauer*, and *Luzitania*, three small rather grubby tankers that keep the oil tanks filled at Danversport. Thus is maritime history made in one New England backwater where it was never brisk, but where once shipyards were busy and there were always some fishermen. The only part of this web of waters no longer used by any craft whatsoever is the North River. Here the effluvia of the leather factories in Peabody so contaminate the once clear stream that the hardiest mariner is discouraged. Yet during the War of 1812 prison hulks lay there and British prisoners repaired the *Isaac Hull* model of *Constitution* for the East India Marine Society.

The thoughts that I have as I see this small but somewhat varied mod-

ern activity is how much of this picture should a maritime museum attempt to preserve for posterity, for the activity there a hundred years from now will be vastly different from that going on there today. The lowly little tankers are rather important in the economy of Essex County and the Merrimac Valley. The powerboats, cruisers, lobster boats, and sailboats are not nearly as impressive as the yachts of fifty years ago and yet they fit the pocketbooks of people today, who get as much enjoyment out of them as their grandparents did from larger vessels.


The whole is part of the vast question of selectivity in the preservation of material. It is a constant enigma that faces every museum worker. One never knows what the next scholar will be looking for, and things that are insignificant in their own time sometimes assume importance when viewed from the perspective of decades.

The problem of selectivity in collecting is closely related to the even more important one of preservation of the material that an institution already has. The staff of any museum worth its salt is constantly considering the long-term preservation of materials in its care, and yet it is always more difficult to obtain funds for the proper housing, storage, and restoration of what is already owned than for the purchase of new objects. Both are important for when a museum ceases to collect actively it dies, but if it does not preserve what it has, it dies a slower and more disgraceful death.

We are facing the problem at the Peabody with a planned program, for putting all of our large and important collection of maritime prints and paintings into top-notch condition. It is a project which requires great effort and resources and it has been a revelation to see how many people are interested in helping out with it. Similarly we have just received a donation, which will be added to from time to time, for the rehabilitation of our large collection of ship plans and lines. Some of the most important of them are on extremely brittle paper and will need to be redrawn. This can now be done and another section of important source material will be preserved for the maritime historian of a century hence.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem



American Steam Navigation in China, 1845-1878¹

PART I

BY EDWARD KENNETH HAVILAND

I. INTRODUCTION. EARLIER DAYS OF STEAM NAVIGATION IN CHINA

AN important, though now largely forgotten, chapter in the history of American steam navigation is that concerned with the vessels which plied on the rivers and coasts of China, particularly in the third quarter of the last century. The American sound and river types of steamboats were particularly adapted to comparable trades in China and were greatly superior to any of their rivals. American coastal steamers, too, had points of superiority, although these were not as striking, and held their own in the coast trade for many years. A number of authors² have treated the subject, for the most part briefly, during the course of the last seventy-five years, but the purpose of the present paper is to list, as far as

¹ The present papers represent an elaboration of two lectures delivered at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, in June 1953; one on the 26th before the American Steamship Historical Society and the other on the 28th before the Peabody Museum Marine Associates.

In what follows, it should be noted that dates of ships' movements as given in contemporary newspapers are usually those of arrival and departure, while those given in consular returns and in A. Heard and Co.'s freight books are dates of entrance and clearance. Sometimes the two sets of dates coincide but frequently they do not.

Ownership is usually taken from official documents, but the nominal or registered owners were not always the actual owners. Moreover, official dates of purchase or sale often differ, sometimes by as much as two years, from the effective date of transfer.

Prices may be assumed to be in Mexican dollars, if the transactions were in China or Japan, and in American dollars, if the transactions were in the United States, but in the majority of cases the standard is not stated.

The tonnages given in the text are usually registered tonnages, which are gross in the case of American vessels and net in the case of British vessels, unless the contrary is stated. More precise information can be obtained from Appendix III.

² E.g., Rear Admiral G. H. Preble, *History of Steam Navigation* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 129-134 and 225-227; J. H. Morrison, *History of American Steam Navigation* (New York, 1903), pp. 508-512; an unnamed author in *Marine Engineering*, IV (1899), 108-110; F. E. Dayton, *Steamboat Days* (New York, 1925), pp. 379-381.

Quite recently, K.-C. Liu has been writing a series of very thorough articles on the history of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Co. as a business enterprise. They will be referred to as: I, 'Financing a Steam Navigation Company in China, 1861-62,' *The Business History Review*, XXVIII (1954), 154-181; II, 'Administering a Steam Navigation Company in China, 1862-1867,' *The Business History Review*, XXIX (1955), 157-188.

possible, all the American-built merchant steamers and all the steamers owned or regularly operated by American firms or individuals in the Chinese river and coastal services, including the trade between China and Japan and between China, Manila and Singapore, from the arrival of the first American steamer in 1845 until the great days of American steam shipping there came to an end in 1877-1878, together with technical and historical information regarding each ship. For the sake of completeness, the treatment will also include several steamers, mostly with Chinese names, intended for service in China but which never reached there. More than two hundred steam vessels are involved, giving some justification for the remark of George F. Seward, the American consul general at Shanghai that "The only great success of our countrymen on steam navigation of late years has been made here on the coast of China."³

There will also be included a short account of the financial affairs of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company, both because it was the most important of the ownerships we treat and because it was a public company, so that its records are reasonably accessible.

As a background for our study, it may be recalled that economic relations between the West and China developed gradually. The Portuguese secured a foothold at Macao in the sixteenth century. The English settled around Hong Kong and carried on trade with the Chinese through the single port of Canton and by means of the East India Company, whose monopoly was gradually breached and officially abolished in 1834. The attempt of the Chinese government in 1836 to prohibit the importation of opium led to war with Great Britain and, at the conclusion of the Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking in August 1842 threw China open to Western trade. The ports of Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow and Ningpo were opened to foreigners, and Hong Kong became a British colony and proceeded to develop from a desolate island into a great commercial center. Protected by the principle of extraterritoriality, the foreign settlements in the Treaty Ports, particularly Shanghai, likewise became centers of commercial activity. The defeat of China in the second Anglo-Chinese War (1856-1857) was followed in 1858 by the Treaty of Tientsin, which enlarged the privileges of foreigners. This treaty was repudiated by China after the defeat of the British at the Peiho but was reinstated and somewhat extended by the Treaty of Peking in 1860, following the Anglo-French occupation of the latter city. Among the pro-

³ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, Shanghai, 13 December 1875, *Forty-fifth Congress, 2nd Session, House Miscellaneous Document No. 31*, "Testimony taken before the Committee on Expenditures in the State Department" (Washington, 1878), II, 47. This document will be referred to in what follows as *HMD* 31.

visions of these treaties was the ceding to Great Britain of three square miles of the Kowloon Peninsula, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong. Eleven additional ports, including Newchwang, Tientsin, Chefoo, Hankow, Nanking, Chinkiang and Swatow were opened and foreigners were allowed to travel and trade in the interior. At the same time the navigation of the Yangtze was opened to foreign merchant ships.⁴ Shortly afterward, largely by the efforts of the Ever-Victorious Army under General F. T. Ward, the Taiping rebels were driven back from the Yangtze sufficiently to permit the resumption of commerce on the river and the release of immense quantities of goods that had been accumulating inland, awaiting shipment to the coast. In the steam navigation that developed around Hong Kong, on the Yangtze and on the coast, American houses such as Russell and Co., Augustine Heard and Co., and Oliphant and Co., together with a number of other firms and of individuals, played a large part.

Steam navigation in China had its beginning in the neighborhood of Hong Kong. In a certain sense the first steamer there seems to have been *Diana*, a paddle vessel of 80 tons for which the materials and machinery were sent out in 1821 by Maudslay for a Mr. Robarts, with the view to employment on the Canton River. Apparently the owner changed his mind and it appears doubtful that the steamer was erected in China. In any case, the parts were sent back to Calcutta, where *Diana* was reconstructed by Kyd and Co. at Kidderpore and launched on 12 July 1823.⁵ She was later purchased by the Hon. East India Co.

The first steamer to operate in Chinese waters is generally thought to have been *Forbes*, a small paddle steamer of 161 tons, constructed in 1829 by the Howrah Dock Co. of Calcutta.⁶ The same year, she was chartered by James Matheson, of the well-known British house of Jardine, Matheson and Co. to tow the sailing vessel *Jamesina* to China.⁷ According to the

⁴ See, e.g., G. C. Allen and A. G. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern Economic Development—China and Japan* (London, 1951), pp. 15-24. For a more detailed treatment of the period 1842-1854, see John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

⁵ See W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* (London, 1876), IV, 447, especially footnote 1, where he quotes from G. A. Prinsep, *Early Steam Navigation in India* (Calcutta, 1830). See also *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, XVII (1824), 197, which quotes the Calcutta *John Bull* for 14 July 1823, where *Diana* is described as the first steam vessel which ever floated on the waters of the East. Also H. E. Hoskins, *British Routes to India* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 108, footnote 18, and H. Parker and F. C. Bowen, *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, n.d. [circa 1929]), p. 92. The date 1833 there given is evidently a misprint.

⁶ H. Parker and F. C. Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For further history of *Forbes*, see H. E. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-124.

⁷ *A Century of Service, The Early History of Jardine, Matheson and Co., Ltd., and the India China S. N. Co., Ltd.* (16 pp., n.p., n.d.), pp. 6-8.

account of Captain Henderson, commander of *Forbes*,⁸ the two ships left Sandheads, below Calcutta, on 14 March 1830. On 13 April, fourteen days after leaving Singapore, the weather turned bad and as *Forbes* was beginning to run short of coal, she dropped her tow and the two ships proceeded separately. *Forbes* arrived off Macao on 18 April, and E. C. Bridgeman, the pioneer of American missions in China, is quoted as describing his arrival at Macao on 19 April in 'the steamer *Forbes*, the first ship of the kind to have visited these shores,'⁹ a characterization confirmed in the account of her arrival in the Canton Register of 1 May 1830.¹⁰ When the Chinese pilot came aboard the steamer off Macao, so the story goes, he showed no surprise at what he saw. The captain, annoyed at this indifference, asked the Chinaman if he did not think the fire-eating iron boat remarkable, to which the pilot replied, 'Before time have got plenty ship inside walkee fire boat. Just now velly expense—no can do.' Evidently *Forbes* returned for *Jamesina*, as the records of the East India Company show that the latter vessel, in tow of the former, arrived at Lintin on 26 April 1830.¹¹ The experiment was not repeated, as it was found impossible to procure coal in Canton of a quality good enough to raise steam, and *Forbes*, burning wood instead of coal, returned to Calcutta.

There was a steamer *King-ja* advertised in Canton newspapers in 1832.¹² In 1835 Jardine, Matheson and Co. brought out the small steamer *Jardine*, intending to run her between Lintin, Hong Kong and Whampoa, but she was withdrawn because of the opposition of the Chinese authorities and converted to sail. In 1844, however, the firm, with the assistance of the British consul in Canton, broke through the ban and inaugurated the first steamship passenger service between Canton and Hong Kong with *Corsair*, and this may be said to mark the beginning of regular steam navigation in China.¹³

The earliest American steamers in China were associated with Robert Bennet Forbes, a partner in Russell and Co. in the years 1839-1844 and again in 1849-1854 and long connected with this firm. Of these steamers, the first was *Midas*,¹⁴ a wooden, twin-screw, auxiliary schooner of 148 tons built by Samuel Hall, East Boston, for J. M. Forbes, also a partner in Russell and Co., R. B. Forbes and W. C. Hunter, with engines de-

⁸ *Asiatic Journal*, New Ser., III (1830), Pt. 2, 146.

⁹ G. H. Preble, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

¹⁰ H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834* (Oxford, 1926), IV, 223.

¹¹ See C. Ridgely-Neveitt, 'Auxiliary Steamships and R. B. Forbes,' *AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, I (1911), 51.

signed by John Ericsson. Under Captain William Poor, she left New York for China, 4 November 1844,¹² and was the first American steam vessel that passed beyond the Cape of Good Hope and also the first to ply in the waters of China.

Midas arrived at Hong Kong from New York on 21 May 1845,¹³ and was placed in regular service between Hong Kong and Canton, making two round trips per week,¹⁴ and so continued into the spring of 1846. In addition, she engaged in towing and salvage, and on 6 April 1846 left Hong Kong for Macao and Manila. Apparently, she was on a salvage venture, in the course of which she is said to have been sunk, but, if so, she was raised easily, as on 21 May 1846 she arrived back at Macao from Ylocos.¹⁵ *Midas* was around Hong Kong for the rest of 1846, but by then was disabled by neglect of her boilers and returned to the United States under sail, evidently early in 1847,¹⁶ after which she was converted to a sailing vessel and sold to Padelford and Fay. Subsequently, she ran for a long time between Savannah and Rio de Janeiro.

Midas was followed by the wooden propeller bark *Edith* of 407 tons, built in 1844 by Samuel Hall, East Boston, for R. B. Forbes and Thomas H. Perkins, Jr.¹⁷ Under Captain George W. Lewis, she left New York for Bombay and China on 18 January 1845 with John T. Whipple as engineer. She used steam infrequently, which is understandable in view of the fact that in the tropics the temperature was 146° F. in the engine room at the starting valve and 94° in front of the boiler. *Edith* arrived at Macao from Bombay on 2 September 1845 and at Hong Kong on 11 September.¹⁸ It was intended to run her in the opium trade between India and China, but upon her arrival at Hong Kong the agents transferred the command to a Captain Johnson, of Salem, who had had no experience in steam, and dispatched her on 8 October with a cargo of domestic goods for Shanghai. Bad weather arising, she returned to Hong Kong to repair damages and made another start on the nineteenth. Apparently, this attempt also was unsuccessful, so her cargo was transferred

¹² Robert B. Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1852), pp. 208-209. Preble gives the date of departure as 18 November.

¹³ *Hong Kong Register* (later denoted by *HKR*), 27 May 1845.

¹⁴ Advertisement, dated 20 September 1845, in *HKR*, 7 October 1845.

¹⁵ *HKR*, 7 April 1846 and 9 June 1846.

¹⁶ A *Midas*, probably this ship, was reported as arriving at Canton from Hong Kong on 1 November bound for Rio de Janeiro. Cf. Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls* (Ann Arbor, 1938), p. 390. But she seems not to have left China until later.

¹⁷ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 209-213, and *Notes on Ships of the Past* (Boston, 1887), p. 63. See also C. Ridgely Nevill, loc. cit.

¹⁸ *HKR*, 9 September 1845, and 16 September 1845.

to a sailing vessel and on 8 December 1845 *Edith* herself, under Captain Johnson, left Whampoa for Boston via Rio de Janeiro.¹⁹ Upon her return, she was reconditioned and chartered by the day to the United States War Department. In 1846, she was purchased by the War Department and transferred to the Navy Department and, after a period of service in the Gulf of Mexico, she was taken around Cape Horn and subsequently lost in a fog off Santa Barbara, about August 1849.²⁰

In 1846, R. B. Forbes sent the little iron screw steamer *Firefly* of 20 tons, built in New York that year, to China in a ship for service between Canton and Whampoa. Later, he says, she was sent on another ship to San Francisco. This may be the small screw tug *Firefly* brought to Astoria from San Francisco in 1853 and lost by capsizing off Tanzy Point, Columbia River, 24 February 1854.²¹

In 1849, R. B. Forbes had *Spark*, a wooden paddle steamer, built at New York and sent out in frame to China,²² chiefly for the account of James B. Endicott.²³ Erected at Whampoa in 1850, she had a long career on the coast, being owned for many years by Captain Endicott, a former shipmaster who was later engaged in the ownership of steamers. During his ownership of *Spark*, Thomas Hunt and Co. regularly appear as her agents. Captain Endicott was interested in the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co., established in 1865 with British and American capital, being, e.g., chairman of their board of directors in 1869,²⁴ but at the same time he appears to have continued operating steamers on his own account. These included *Spark* and *Spec*, which, together with the good will of the line between Macao and Canton, were sold by his heirs to the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co. in 1871.²⁵ *Spark* continued in their name through the 1883 issue of the *Mercantile Navy List*,²⁶ being finally lost on 21 July 1883 at Cape Cami. In August 1874, pirates seized the ship between Canton and Macao, murdered Captain Brady, the mate, the pur-

¹⁹ *HKR*, 20 January 1846. R. B. Forbes (*Reminiscences*, pp. 212-213) says she returned to New York.

²⁰ See C. Ridgely Nevitt, loc. cit., p. 74, footnote 4.

²¹ Lewis and Hayden's *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, E. W. Wright, editor (Portland, Oregon, 1897), p. 14.

²² R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, Appendix.

²³ G. H. Preble, op. cit., p. 133.

²⁴ Report of Directors of H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., Ltd., to the shareholders, 12 July 1869, *Heard Collection* (hereafter referred to as *HC*) at Baker Library, Harvard University, Vol. EA 1.

²⁵ Circular to the shareholders of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., Ltd., 18 May 1871, *NCH*, 9 June 1871.

²⁶ At the semi annual meeting of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., 31 July 1882, the directors stated that they intended to withdraw *Spark* from Canton and Macao waters and to replace her by *Yotsai*, recently purchased, *North China Herald* (later denoted by *NCH*), 11 August 1882.

ser, one fireman, one Chinaman and four passengers. The Chinese engineers, who had hidden in the coal bunkers, brought the steamer into Macao.²⁷ There were about 150 passengers on board at the time, a considerable number for a steamer which registered only 133 tons gross.

Spec was a paddle steamer of 130 tons gross, built at Hong Kong in 1862 as *Fei Wan* (*Fi Wan*). Captain Endicott appears to have purchased her in 1867. After acquiring her in 1871 the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co. almost immediately renamed her *Fei Wan* and kept her until 1877, when she was sold out of the fleet because of age.²⁸

Captain Endicott also owned *Lily*, a wooden steamer of 411 tons, builders' measure, built for him by J. C. Cowper of Whampoa, apparently as a speculation, as she was advertised for sale immediately after her launching and four or five weeks before her completion. It was emphasized that she was of light draft, but adapted for either river or coastal work.²⁹ No suitable purchasers appearing, her owner placed her in service between Hong Kong and Canton, and when the war of 1856 stopped traffic to Canton a few months later, *Lily* was placed in coastwise service. Thos. Hunt and Co. acting as agents. Other steamers of Captain Endicott will be treated later.

Of the steamers of sound or river type which were erected in the United States and sent to China under their own power, the first seems to have been *Confucius*, 468 tons, a wooden side-wheel steamer built for Russell and Co. by Thomas Collyer in 1853. Her first register, dated 9 April 1853, shows her owned in sixtieth shares by a considerable number of persons, of whom John M. Forbes, G. Griswold Gray, Abiel A. Low and Russell Sturgis were partners or former partners of Russell and Co.,³⁰ while Captain Thomas W. Dearborn was a prominent figure in steam shipping in China at this time and for a number of years afterward. *Confucius* arrived at Singapore 140 days out of New York and left on 10 September 1853, reaching Hong Kong on the fifteenth.³¹ Later that year, she was employed in towing vessels between Shanghai and the sea.³² In August 1855, she was purchased by the Chinese government

²⁷ *Japan Weekly Mail* (later denoted by *JWM*), 5 September 1874.

²⁸ According to the transcript of her document, furnished by the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen, Cardiff, *Fei Wan* was sold on 3 January 1877 and her British registry closed the following day. Cf. also the report of the meeting of shareholders of the H. K., C. & M. S. B. Co., *NCH*, 1 February 1877.

²⁹ *China Mail* (later denoted by *CM*), 24 April 1856.

³⁰ A complete list of the partners of Russell and Co. through 6 December 1880 is to be found in the Appendix of R. B. Forbes' *Reminiscences*.

³¹ *Overland Register and Price Current* (Hong Kong), 27 September 1853.

³² Letter of Col. Humphrey Marshall, dated 8 December 1853. *CM*, 16 August 1875.

for \$90,000 and converted to a gunboat.³³ There was a gunboat of this name, very likely the same steamer, in General Ward's fleet. As of 1863, we find this latter vessel in the Chinese Transport Service.³⁴ Afterward, she was employed as a dispatch vessel and was wrecked near Tiger Hill on the Yangtze in 1870.³⁵

The next steamer sent to China was of the same type. This was *River Bird*, a wooden side-wheel steamer of 527 tons built in 1854 at Brooklyn by Samuel Sneden for Robert S. Sturgis, J. B. Endicott and Gideon Nye, Jr.³⁶ She was laid down as *Yankee* and the name later changed to *Fung Shung*, but by the time her first document was issued, 3 February 1855, she had received her final name of *River Bird*. Her owners are there given as A. A. Low, J. O. Low and E. H. R. Lyman (trading as A. A. Low and Bro.), but they may well have been acting as agents for owners then resident in China. *River Bird* sailed from New York on 5 February 1855 under Captain Sampson with Captain George U. Sands as chief engineer, and made the Cape Verde Islands in twenty days, arriving at Macao on 24 May 1855.³⁷ She was intended for service between Hong Kong and Canton, and served on that route for a year or so, save for a considerable period when she was laid up following an accident. After the war of 1856 had stopped the river traffic, Mr. Sturgis sent her to Calcutta under charter to the British government during the Indian Mutiny. Under Captain Whitney she sailed from Hong Kong for Singapore on 4 February 1857³⁸ and was wrecked in the Hooghly River later that year.³⁹

With the coming of *River Bird*, the introductory period of American steam navigation in China may be thought of as closed, and before we turn to the succeeding period, dominated by Russell and Co. and the Shanghai S. N. Co., it is convenient to introduce a situation which is responsible for the inclusion in the present paper of a considerable number of steamers which would not otherwise appear, viz., the use of the American flag by ships not entitled to receive an American document. The practice eventually evoked much criticism in this country and George F. Seward, United States Minister at Peking, formerly consul gen-

³³ *Friend of China* (later denoted by *F. of C.*), 8 August 1855.

³⁴ *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

³⁵ *NCH*, 15 February 1870.

³⁶ According to Preble, *op. cit.*, p. 133. The *China Mail* for 31 May 1855 states that she arrived at Macao in charge of Captain Paul.

³⁷ *CM*, 12 February 1857.

³⁸ *Marine Engineering*, IV (1899), 110. Cf. *CM*, 9 April 1857. The wreck was purchased by the British government for two lakhs of rupees (dispatch from Calcutta, dated 21 November 1857, in *CM*, 17 December 1857). Whether the steamer was restored to service or not, is not known.

eral at Shanghai, was accused, among other things, of violating the law in this regard to his own personal profit. *House Miscellaneous Document No. 51*, referred to above, is devoted largely to testimony concerning the administration of the consulate general at Shanghai under G. F. Seward and there is much concerning the use of the American flag on ships not entitled to documentation. Whether or not Seward was guilty of the various charges made against him is not now clear. The testimony evidently involves much personal rancor, often not involving him directly. The investigating committee recommended his trial before the Senate, but this was never done—perhaps because his enemies did not feel their case sufficiently strong. In the matter that here concerns us, Seward seems to have been following what was the custom and, very largely at least, what was the law, and he believed in his course as essential to the support of American shipping in the Far East.³⁹

It is well known that at that period, as now, only American-built ships were entitled to receive American documents except under special circumstances, such as being prizes of war or being admitted by special act of Congress. However, in the Far East the practice arose of allowing foreign-built vessels to fly the American flag. The first vessel so treated was said to have been a sailing vessel, *Mariposa*, in 1848 or 1849.⁴⁰ In any case, the practice had become well established by 1856, and in 1857 the United States Legation issued a circular on the duties of consular officers with respect to American owners of foreign-built vessels, being regulations and instructions prescribed by the President in accordance with an Act of Congress approved on 18 August 1856.⁴¹

Essentially, the instructions were to the effect that foreign-built vessels purchased and owned by American citizens were entitled to the protection of the authorities and flag of the United States, although no register, enrollment, license or other marine document prescribed by the laws of the United States could be issued to them. Bills of sale for such vessels were to be recorded and authenticated at an American consulate and a certificate, frequently referred to as sailing letters, delivered to the owners. These vessels were, however, not allowed to carry cargo to any American port, nor could they call there except under special arrangements.

These instructions were repeated in the second edition of the *Consular Manual*, dated December 1862, and in the third edition, dated Novem-

³⁹ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, *HMD* 31, II, 47.

⁴⁰ Testimony of Edward Cunningham, *HMD* 31, I, 867.

⁴¹ Cf. CM, 6 April 1857. For further information regarding the use of the American flag, see F. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 and 443.

ber 1867. They were modified in the regulations of 1870, though not essentially, and Article XVII of the regulations dated 1 September 1874 contains the statement that 'The right of American citizens to acquire property in foreign ships has been held to be a natural one, independent of statutory law, and such property is no more and no less entitled to protection by the United States than any other property of American citizens.' Section 226 of the regulations of 1874, however, contained the statement that 'The privilege of carrying the American flag is under the regulation of Congress and the statutes have not made that privilege practicably available to any ships except those duly registered or enrolled at some customhouse.'⁴² This seems to represent a change in the point of view of the United States government, but the earlier custom was apparently well established in China and the steamers of the Shanghai S. N. Co., which by the latter part of 1874 were almost the only ones flying the American flag in those waters, continued to do so. After their sale to the Chinese in 1877 the American flag virtually disappeared from the coast and river trade in China anyway.

There had grown up in the fifties and early sixties a widespread carrying of the American flag by small, Chinese-built vessels of which American ownership was purely nominal. This practice was definitely irregular and G. F. Seward states that early in his career as consul he took steps to correct this abuse.⁴³ Few of these vessels were steamers and no effort has been made in the present paper to treat them completely.

A problem associated with the flying of the American flag was that of the employment of Americans as officers and crew. The crews in these steamers were regularly Chinese or 'Manila men.' An effort was made to have Americans as captains and officers, but if the shipowner certified that he was unable to obtain competent Americans for these positions, he was normally allowed by the consuls to fill them with foreigners.⁴⁴ The law, being framed in the days of sail, had nothing to say regarding engineers and this led on at least one occasion to an ingenious device. In the latter part of 1876 the steamer *Pingon* was refused a clearance by J. C. Myers, then consul general at Shanghai, on the ground that the chief mate was an Englishman. The chief engineer, however, was an American, so the engineer was shipped as mate and the mate as engineer and the steamer thereupon allowed to proceed to sea!⁴⁵

⁴² Quoted in *HMD* 37, I, 868.

⁴³ George F. Seward to Mr. Cadwalader, *ibid.*, II, 46.

⁴⁴ C. P. Blethen to George F. Seward, 3 April 1877, *HMD* 37, II, 38.

II. RUSSELL AND CO. AND ASSOCIATED OWNERSHIPS

The greatest of the American houses in China, Russell and Co., was founded by Samuel Russell on 1 January 1824 and lasted until 1891. While primarily an agency and commission house and for the most part not shipowners in their own right, they nevertheless were active in shipping as agents and consignees of ships owned largely by partners and former partners of the firm, and as the agency amounted usually to management, it is convenient to treat the steamers owned by Russell and Co. or by interests associated with them under one head. The first of Russell and Co.'s own steamers, or at least the first of any size, was *Confucius*, already mentioned.

In 1855, R. B. Forbes had built for Russell and Co. the wooden screw auxiliary bark *Antelope* of 415 tons, constructed by Samuel Hall of East Boston.⁴⁵ P. S. Forbes, the head of the house, evidently had an interest in her, although in her first register, dated 14 July 1855, R. B. Forbes is listed as owner. She came out from Boston via Batavia, arriving at Hong Kong on 17 November 1855.⁴⁶ While intended for service between Japan and China,⁴⁷ *Antelope* appears to have traded principally between Hong Kong and Shanghai. Captain Edward Mellus, who brought her out, died of brain fever at Foochow on 19 August 1856 and was succeeded by Captain Lynch. Apparently she was not too successful financially. In the early part of 1858 she was being used by the United States on a six-months' charter and Russell and Co. planned to sell her after that.⁴⁸ *Antelope* was, in fact, sold at auction on 15 October 1858 through De Silver and Co. and purchased by B. S. Fernandes, a shipowner of Macao, who renamed her *Fernandes* and placed her under the Portuguese flag.⁴⁹ After some repairs, she was placed in coastwise service out of Hong Kong, principally to Swatow and Amoy, with Walker, Borradaile and Co. as agents. In the spring of 1861, she went north and operated on the Yangtze, with Dent and Co. as agents.⁵⁰ About October of that year she was sold for Mexican \$80,000, given her old name of *Antelope*, and placed under the British flag, with Bower, Hanbury and Co. as agents.⁵¹ She then operated

⁴⁵ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, Appendix. See also C. Ridgely Nevitt, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ CM, 22 November 1855.

⁴⁷ *The Artizan*, XIV (1856), 13.

⁴⁸ K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 161.

⁴⁹ CM, 30 September 1858, 21 October 1858, and 11 November 1858.

⁵⁰ *Overland Trade Report* (Hong Kong), (later denoted by OTR), 27 July 1861.

⁵¹ OTR, 14 November 1861; NCH, various issues in 1862.

mainly on the Yangtze and on the Shanghai-Ningpo route, but on at least one occasion went as far south as Hong Kong. Later she became a Chinese government transport,⁵² and she seems to have ended her days in that service.

In 1856, Wm. Denny and Bros., Dumbarton, built for P. S. Forbes and others the iron auxiliary screw steamer *Min*. As she registered 191 tons net, she must have been of about the same size as *Antelope*. Being intended for Russell and Co.'s opium trade between India and China, she was heavily armed, having two swivel 18-pounders amidships and six brass 6-pounder carronades.⁵³ She came out via Bombay, leaving that port on 23 September 1856 and arriving at Hong Kong on 3 November. During her short career, *Min* plied mainly, if not entirely, between Hong Kong and Shanghai. On her last trip, she left Hong Kong on 19 March 1857 and on the 22nd was wrecked on Tung Ying in the Formosa Channel. She struck upon a rock and, being backed astern, sank in 25 fathoms. The crew were saved.⁵⁴ P. S. Forbes did not regard her highly as an investment,⁵⁵ but whether this was due to poor operating results or to her short life is not clear.

After the close of the second Anglo-Chinese war, Russell and Co. resumed service between Hong Kong and Canton with *Willamette*, an iron propeller of 370 tons built in 1849 by Harlan and Hollingsworth, Wilmington, Delaware, for George W. Aspinwall of Philadelphia and registered in his name at Philadelphia on 2 August 1850. She was evidently sold immediately afterward, as on 5 August 1850 she was reregistered at Philadelphia with the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. as owners. The same day, *Willamette* sailed from Philadelphia under Captain E. W. Willett (or Willet) and arrived at Astoria, Oregon, on 9 March 1851.⁵⁶ She was intended for service on the Columbia, but was too expensive for the route and sold a year or so afterward and subsequently sent to San Francisco. In 1855 she was acquired by the California S. N. Co. and sent to China, leaving San Francisco under canvas in command of Captain W. E. Newcomb on 16 June and arriving at Hong Kong on 29 August, consigned to Jardine, Matheson and Co. and bringing with her a staff of artificers to put her machinery together.⁵⁷ On 1 January 1856, under the command

⁵² *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

⁵³ *The Engineer*, I (1856), 260.

⁵⁴ *C.M.*, 2 April 1857.

⁵⁵ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Willamette* was first registered in the name of the California S. N. Co. at San Francisco on 9 June 1855. For her arrival in China, see *C.M.*, 30 August 1855 and 29 November 1855.

of Captain William Curry, who also acted as her agent,⁵⁷ she commenced plying on the Pearl River between Hong Kong and Canton as a freight and passenger vessel, and so continued until October 1856, when the war between Great Britain and China put a stop to all commercial communication with the city of Canton. On 1 December 1856 *Willamette* started a service between Hong Kong and Macao. It appears at first to have been irregular, but from 1 June 1857 to 31 January 1858 she operated regularly, save for an intermission of three months when she was laid up for repairs. Throughout this period she was owned by the California S. N. Co. The service to Canton had resulted in an average profit of \$2.027 per month. The Macao service, however, entailed additional expenses and produced no profits, on the basis of which facts Captain Curry in behalf of the owners filed claims for damages against the Chinese government at the United States consulate at Hong Kong on 11 July 1857 and 17 March 1858.⁵⁸ By this time the California S. N. Co. had gotten tired of their Chinese venture and *Willamette* was advertised to be sold at public auction by Lane, Crawford and Co., auctioneers, on 4 June 1857. Apparently nothing came of this as she was offered at auction on 6 February 1858. There were no bidders, but a few days later she was acquired privately by Russell and Co. or their associates for \$23,000 and placed, as stated above, on the route between Hong Kong and Canton.⁵⁹

When the Yangtze was opened to navigation in the spring of 1861, Edward Cunningham, Russell and Co.'s managing partner in Shanghai, who was keenly interested in steam navigation, had *Willamette* brought up from the Canton River and repaired, whereupon she was placed in service between Shanghai and Hankow. Her sale for \$30,000 was reported in the *Overland China Mail* for 28 May 1861 and she appears from a letter of Cunningham to have entered actual service on the river about July.⁶⁰ After she had been established in profitable operation, Cunningham sold the shares in her to his Chinese friends to induce them to invest in the more extensive operation he was planning and which de-

⁵⁷ *CM*, 11 June 1857. Robert S. Walker, at that time superintendent for the P. and O. at Hong Kong, is also listed as her agent. See *CM*, 23 April 1857.

⁵⁸ 36th Congress, 3rd Session, *House Executive Document No. 29* (Washington, 1860), 'Claims Against China' (later referred to as *HExD 29*), pp. 111-112. The claim of *Willamette* was not allowed.

⁵⁹ *CM*, 11 February 1858. Apparently Henry G. Wolcott, who was connected with Russell and Co., had a large interest in *Willamette*. Cf. E. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁶⁰ K.-C. Liu, *loc. cit.*, I, 170. *Willamette* arrived at Shanghai from Hong Kong on 27 July 1861 according to the *Consular Returns of Shipping* (later denoted by *CRS*), Shanghai (at National Archives).

veloped into the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company. *Willamette* continued to trade on the Yangtze under the management of Russell and Co.⁶¹ until sold about May 1862 for \$50,000,⁶² it being presumably thought wise to accept a good offer for her, as newer and more suitable ships were then coming out. Thereafter, Chapman, King and Co. were listed as agents,⁶³ but she was soon resold or else the purchase was by, or in behalf of, General F. T. Ward, in whose service she later was.⁶⁴ Subsequently, she was in the Chinese Transport Service.⁶⁵

To return to the coastwise trade, Morrison states that the seagoing paddle steamer *Yangtze* (1857) was built for Russell and Co.,⁶⁶ but the evidence indicates that she was intended for Dent and Co., in whose service she later was, as will be described below. However, the following year, 1858, the seagoing wooden side-wheel steamer *Peiho*, 1,113 tons, was built by Thomas Collyer for Russell and Co. Paul S. Forbes is listed as her owner in her first register, dated 23 April 1859, but it appears that he was acting as agent, Russell and Co. as a firm being financially interested in this ship.⁶⁷ *Peiho* arrived at Hong Kong from New York, 11 September 1859 and was placed in Hong Kong-Shanghai service, on which she continued for several months, leaving Shanghai for Hong Kong on her last voyage for Russell and Co. on 5 March 1860.⁶⁸ Later that month she was listed as at Hong Kong, repairing, and about this time she was sold to the French for use as a warship, being renamed *Saigon*. Her surrendered document in the National Archives is marked 'Surrendered at Boston, 29 June 1860. Vessel sold to French in China.' It appears that P. S. Forbes had for some time felt that the funds invested in her could be more profitably employed, and with less risk, elsewhere.⁶⁹

In 1858-1859, Thomas Collyer built the wooden side-wheel steamer *White Cloud* (or *Pak Yun*) of 521 tons, chiefly for the account of Robert S. Sturgis and Captain George U. Sands.⁷⁰ In her first document, dated 12 February 1859, George U. Sands is listed as owner and master. The following abstract of her log on her way to China appeared in *Marine Engineering* for September 1899:

⁶¹ *NCH*, 3 May 1862.

⁶² *Boston Shipping List* (later referred to as *BSL*), 21 June 1862.

⁶³ *NCH*, 10 May 1862.

⁶⁴ Mixed Court, C. E. Hill vs. Estate of Yang Taikee, *NCH*, 21 January 1875.

⁶⁵ *F. of C.*, 18 February 1863.

⁶⁶ J. H. Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 709.

⁶⁷ K. C. Liu, *loc. cit.*, I, 167.

⁶⁸ *NCH*, 10 March 1860.

⁶⁹ G. H. Preble, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

Left New York, 2 March 1859. Captain, Josiah Paul; Chief Engineer (Captain) Samuel Newton.

Arrived at St. Vincent, Cape Verde Islands, in 17 days. Distance run, 2919 miles. Coaled.

Left for Cape of Good Hope and arrived in 23 days, 12 hours. Distance, 3896 miles. Coaled.

Left for Point de Galle, Ceylon and arrived in 24 days. Distance, 4380 miles. Coaled.

After stopping at Singapore, dropped anchor in Hong Kong harbor, 7 June 1859. Total distance from New York, 14,195 miles.

White Cloud, a typical American sound steamer, was placed in Russell and Co.'s line between Hong Kong and Canton⁷⁰ and subsequently ran also between Hong Kong and Macao, remaining on these routes until sold late in 1865 to the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. She remained in the service of the latter company until lost in a typhoon in Macao harbor, 23 September 1874. Her engine was salvaged and placed in a new *White Cloud*.

Upon the arrival of *White Cloud*, Russell and Co.'s Hong Kong-Canton service was maintained by *White Cloud* and *Willamette*.⁷¹ When the latter steamer went to the Yangtze, she was replaced by *Hankow*, a wooden side-wheel steamer of 726 tons built by Thomas Collyer in 1860. In her first register, dated 26 January 1861, she is in the name of E. J. Hale and John M. Forbes, comprising the firm of P. S. Forbes and Co. In charge of Captain Walcott, *Hankow* arrived at Hong Kong from Philadelphia, 30 August 1861. She was consigned to Russell and Co. and (in spite of her name) intended for their Hong Kong-Canton service,⁷² a service on which she was primarily employed until she burned at Canton, 21 July 1865.⁷³ However, she was chartered in 1862 by the Shanghai S. N. Co. and by them operated on the Yangtze between Shanghai and Hankow.⁷⁴ The new *Plymouth Rock* was placed on Russell and Co.'s Hong Kong-Canton line in the fall of 1864 and served there until sold to the Shanghai S. N. Co. in June 1866. Meanwhile the line had been reinforced in the latter part of 1865 by the purchase of Olyphant and Co.'s Yangtze steamers *Poyang* and *Kinkiang*, to be described later, but these were sold to the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. in August 1866 and the service given up. *Poyang* was lost on her way from Hong Kong to Macao with about one hundred lives in the typhoon of 31 May 1875. *Kinkiang* continued in the Hong

⁷⁰ Cf. e.g., the *Daily Press* (Hong Kong), 16 August 1859 and the *China Directory* for 1863.

⁷¹ *OTR*, 31 October 1861. *China Directory* for 1863.

⁷² *BSL*, 23 September 1865.

⁷³ S. S. N. Co. Advertisement in *NCH*, 19 July 1862.

Kong, Canton and Macao service until broken up at Canton in March 1862 after an unusually long and relatively uneventful life.

Among Russell and Co.'s small vessels of this period may be mentioned *Hyson*, a little paddle steamer sent to China in the bark *Palmetto* in 1861.⁷⁶ The following year, she was purchased by the Taotai for General Ward's service.⁷⁷

About the beginning of 1861, P. S. Forbes contracted for Russell and Co.'s future use the coastal steamer *Flambeau*,⁷⁸ a wooden propeller of 850 tons,⁷⁹ built that year by Lawrence and Foulkes. She never went to China, however, as Forbes sold her to the Navy, 14 November 1861,⁸⁰ before she had been documented. At the close of the Civil War, the Navy sold her at auction, 12 July 1865 to G. W. Quintard, acting, evidently, on behalf of the Atlantic Coast Mail S.S. Co., in whose name she was enrolled on 23 August 1865. While in their service, she foundered, 1 March 1867, on Cape Fear Bar, off Fort Fisher, North Carolina, without loss of life.⁸¹

To replace *Flambeau*, P. S. Forbes sent to China in November 1861 the iron screw steamer *Pembroke* of 241 tons,⁸² which had been built the previous year by the Atlantic Works, East Boston, under R. B. Forbes's supervision. *Pembroke* was built for William E. Coffin and Co. and intended for service between Boston and Pembroke, Maine.⁸³ She ran her trials in October 1860, but was immediately acquired by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and subsequently sold to R. B. Forbes and others. In an enrollment dated 9 May 1861, the ship is owned jointly by John M. Forbes and John A. Andrews, acting as trustees. On 16 November 1861, she was registered, with R. B. Forbes as owner. Actually, however, it appears that Forbes had a one-fourth interest in her and the sale of this interest at a profit of \$3,338.50 after the ship reached China was one of his few successful ventures in steam shipping at this period.⁸⁴ Under J. A. Cunningham, *Pembroke* sailed from Boston for Batavia on 19 November 1861. From Batavia she went to Manila, leaving the latter port 1 April 1862 and arriving at Shanghai on the ninth.⁸⁵ Immediately afterward, she was transferred to the Shanghai S. N. Co., and her further history will be given below.

⁷⁶ D. Henderson, *Yankee Ships in China Seas* (New York, 1946), p. 192.

⁷⁷ K. C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 166.

⁷⁸ *Lytle List*. When she was documented, her tonnage was given as 767.

⁷⁹ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 84.

⁸⁰ *Lytle List*; *Steamboat Bill of Facts*, March 1954.

⁸¹ K. C. Liu, loc. cit., I, 167.

⁸² *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, LXXI (1861), 53.

⁸³ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, p. 277.

⁸⁴ *NCH*, 12 April 1862.

A steamer having a very brief connection with Russell and Co. was *Kiang Soo* of 240 tons, built in 1862 for Henry G. Ward, under whose ownership she will be more fully discussed. During the Civil War she became U.S.S. *Fuchsia*, being sold at auction to N. L. and G. Griswold for \$11,000.⁵³ She does not appear to have been redocumented until 12 March 1869, when, under the name of *Donald*, she was registered with owners including Henry H. Warden and J. N. A. Griswold, both associated with Russell and Co. On the same day, however, she was registered in the names of two other owners, the second of whom was acting as agent for Donald Beadle of San Francisco as owner. *Donald* thereupon went to the west coast under sail, arriving at San Francisco in 1869, and was put on the southern coast route, being sold to Goodall and Nelson in 1871.⁵⁴ As a tug, she went to Puget Sound in 1877 and returned to San Francisco the following year.⁵⁵ She was finally abandoned in 1889.⁵⁶

Another, much larger, steamer which had a rather tenuous connection with Russell and Co., but seems to deserve mention here, is *Meteor*, a wooden screw steamer of 1,221 tons built by Tobey and Littlefield, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and launched 21 May 1864. She was built for some sixteen prominent businessmen, including R. B. Forbes, J. M. Forbes, P. S. Forbes, A. A. Low, John G. Cushing and William H. Aspinwall, for sale to the government as a cruiser, but although her trial, 5 January 1865, was satisfactory, Congress, considering the war nearly over, reduced appropriations for the Navy to such an extent that the Secretary decided not to take her. She was then chartered to the War Department and afterwards placed on Cromwell's Line to New Orleans in command of Captain E. Kemble. As this was unprofitable, she was withdrawn in January 1866 and fitted out for sale, whereupon she was seized by the government on the grounds that she was fitting out to make war on a friendly power. She was eventually released and sold at auction, 11 September 1866, to Thomas Walsh (formerly a partner in Russell and Co. and their manager in Japan) of the firm of Walsh, Hall and Co., Yokohama.⁵⁷ Under Captain J. S. Watson, *Meteor* left Boston, 21 September 1866 for Japan, being presumably intended for the Far Eastern trade. She is listed as leaving Rio de Janeiro, bound for China, on 1 November 1866,⁵⁸ but upon her arrival

⁵³ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 84.

⁵⁴ Benjamin C. Wright, *San Francisco's Ocean Trade, Past and Future* (San Francisco, 1911), pp. 122-123.

⁵⁵ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., pp. 253 and 262.

⁵⁶ *Lytle List*; *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., p. 366.

⁵⁷ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 269-276.

⁵⁸ *BSL*, 9 January 1867.

at Singapore was diverted, leaving that port for Melbourne on 22 December 1866. She arrived at Melbourne on 16 January 1867 and sailed three days later, arriving on 2 March 1867 at Callao, where she was sold Peruvian. She was apparently intended for use as a warship, thereby justifying the earlier suspicions of the American authorities. *Meteor* was later destroyed by the Peruvians to keep her from falling into the hands of the Chilean government.⁸⁹

The composite propeller *Nippon* of 399 tons was built in 1862 for R. B. Forbes, H. A. Peirce and James B. Endicott. Her iron frames were constructed by the Atlantic Works and her planking and joiner work were by Sylvanus Smith. She was intended for the China trade⁹⁰ and, had she entered it, would doubtless have been under the management of Russell and Co. As it was, she was purchased from R. B. Forbes by the United States Navy for \$75,000 on 9 May 1863 and proved very successful in capturing blockade runners. At the close of the war, she was sold at auction for \$18,250 to the Atlantic Works on 17 April 1865.⁹¹ She was documented as *Tejupa*, 23 October 1865, and went to South America, where she is described as being in good condition as of about 1868.⁹²

Another steamer intended for China service was *Hoquang*, a wooden side-wheel vessel of 1,055 tons, listed in American Lloyd's for 1864-1866 as owned by Forbes and Co. and built at New York in 1861, being surveyed there in January 1862. There does not seem to have been any such ship in China, although the larger and newer *Huquang* is sometimes referred to as *Hoquang*. The *Hoquang* listed in American Lloyd's was apparently sold before documentation and renamed, but it has not thus far been possible to identify her with certainty.

We now return to the consideration of steamers which actually served on Russell and Co.'s lines in China. *Oriflamme* was a seagoing wooden paddle steamer of 1,205 tons built in 1863 by Lawrence and Foulkes at Brooklyn and intended for use as a gunboat in the Civil War. By the time she was completed, however, the war was so near its close that she was never commissioned, but sold for the China trade.⁹³ Her first register, dated 31

⁸⁹ R. B. Forbes, *Notes on Ships of the Past*, pp. 60-61.

⁹⁰ R. B. Forbes, *Reminiscences*, pp. 266-267.

⁹¹ *History of the Union and Confederate Navies*, II, 1, 161.

⁹² Atlantic Works, *Wooden Ships Superseded by Iron* (Boston, 1869), p. 6. A dispatch from San Francisco, dated 31 March 1868, in the *Boston Shipping List* for 11 April says, "The steamer *Nippon* was wrecked off Amoy in January with the loss of 12 or 15 lives. She was of 468 tons register and built at Boston in 1862." But this is a case of mistaken identity, the American-built *Nippon* being confused with the Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Co.'s *Nippon* (1865), wrecked, 23 January 1868, on a reef 25 miles south of Amoy.

⁹³ Lewis and Dryden, *op. cit.*, p. 171; K. C. Liu, *loc. cit.*, II, 172, footnote 40.

March 1864, shows her owned by several individuals and copartners, of whom William H. King, Robert S. Sturgis and Henry H. Warden were sometime partners in Russell and Co., the last being afterward president of the Shanghai S. N. Co. The builders owned 2/32 of her. The 14th of April following, she was reregistered with the same owners, save that the shares of the builders had been sold to George U. Sands. Under Captain George E. Lane, *Ori flamme* left New York for Hong Kong, 16 April 1864, arriving at Singapore on 15 July and leaving on the 23rd for Hong Kong.⁹⁴ By August of that year she was in regular service on the China coast running primarily between Hong Kong and Shanghai, although on occasion she was on the Yangtze and she made one or two trips to Japan. The Shanghai S. N. Co. apparently chartered her at times, but never owned her.⁹⁵ As she was not entirely satisfactory for service in China, she was sold near the end of 1865 for the route between San Francisco and Mexico.⁹⁶ On her final coastwise trip, still under Captain Lane, she arrived at Shanghai from Hong Kong, 22 December 1865, and was thereupon advertised to leave for San Francisco via Yokohama.⁹⁷ She came to San Francisco early in 1866 and was shortly placed by her new owner, Ben Holladay, on the northern route, arriving at Portland, Oregon, on her first trip, 24 June 1866.⁹⁸ *Ori flamme* continued on this route almost uninterruptedly for the next ten years, save for frequent use as a private yacht for her owner, on which occasions she was the scene of parties that were colorful to say the least.⁹⁹ In her later years, she was enrolled in the name of the Oregon S.S. Co. Her last document was surrendered at San Francisco on 16 June 1879, the vessel having been broken up.

After the return of *Ori flamme*, Russell and Co. operated *Faruma* for a while between Hong Kong and Shanghai, and after that, *Yung Hai An*. C. H. Mallory built *Faruma* (second of that name) at Mystic in 1863, a wooden screw steamer of 867 tons. She served for a while in the Savannah service of the Atlantic Coast Mail S.S. Co. According to his diary,¹⁰⁰ Mallory sold her to J. M. and W. H. Forbes on 27 February 1866 and on the 13th of March following she was registered at New York with William H. Forbes, John M. Forbes and H. S. Russell, all of Boston, copartners, as owners, and Comfort Whiting as master. Under Captain Whiting, she left

⁹⁴ *BSL*, 27 April 1864, *CRS*, Singapore.

⁹⁵ See, however, K.-C. Liu, loc. cit., II, 172, footnote 10.

⁹⁶ *NCH*, 9 December 1865.

⁹⁷ *NCH*, 23 December 1865, *Ori flamme* left Shanghai for San Francisco via Kanagawa on 1 January 1866 (*CRS*).

⁹⁸ *Lewis and Dryden*, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

⁹⁹ At the Museum of the Marine Historical Society, Mystic, Connecticut.

New York on 24 March and Bahia on 19 April, bound for Hong Kong.¹⁰⁰ and she first arrived at Shanghai on 25 July.¹⁰¹ *Varuna* was employed between Shanghai and Hong Kong and between Shanghai and Nagasaki, Captain Whiting continuing in command, until she was sold at the end of October 1866.¹⁰² This is the last information I have regarding her.

The following year, Captain Whiting had *Yung Hai An*, which, according to the *Consular Returns of Shipping* from Shanghai, was owned by Russell and Co. and operated by them between Hong Kong and Shanghai, making a round trip about once every three weeks, from April through October 1867. Just how this was consistent with the agreement of the Shanghai S. N. Co. for whom Russell and Co. were the managing agents, not to operate on that route for ten years from February 1867, is not now clear. *Yung Hai An* appears to have been the former *Lancefield*, an iron screw steamer of 449 tons net, built by Robert Napier at Glasgow in 1855 for Jardine, Matheson and Co., who sold her in September 1862, probably to the Japanese, as she had arrived at Yokohama on the eighth of that month.¹⁰³ The details of her history for the next few years are not known, but as the American steamer *Lancefield* she came to Shanghai in March 1865 and was in port there as of 1 January 1866, leaving for Hong Kong on the eighteenth.¹⁰⁴ Russell and Co. owned her in 1867 and 1868 as *Yung Hai An*, and for about a year after she left the Shanghai route, they operated her between Hong Kong and Indian ports.¹⁰⁵ Toward the end of this time she was available for purchase, as in a letter to his brothers, dated 14 September 1868, George F. Heard, of Augustine Heard and Co., says, 'We may get the *Lancefield* for \$45,000 or \$50,000.' Nothing came of this, however, and in December 1868 she was sold at auction at Hong Kong for \$25,000.¹⁰⁶ She later had the name *Manila* and was converted to sail about 1873. In that year the China Navigation Co. bought her and renamed her *Lancefield*, rebuilding her as a hulk in 1889 and finally selling her to Chinese in 1912.

A steamer which had a long career on the China coast and was associated with Russell and Co. for a time was *Pingon*. As *Moneka*, a wooden screw steamer of 550 tons, she had been built by William Cramp and Sons, Phila-

¹⁰⁰ *BSL*, 6 June 1866.

¹⁰¹ *CNS*, Shanghai.

¹⁰² M. Pasko Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days* (Kobe, n.d. [1930]), p. 344.

¹⁰³ According to *CNS*, she arrived at Shanghai on 24 March 1865. Her name is given in error as *Sandsfield*.

¹⁰⁴ *CNS*, Singapore.

¹⁰⁵ *NCH*, 28 December 1868.

delphia, for E. A. Souder and Co.,¹⁰⁶ being registered on 5 October 1865 in the name of Archibald Getty (of A. Getty and Co., trading as the Peoples S.S. Co.). On 29 April 1869, *Monka* was registered in the name of Ira W. Steward of Brooklyn, New York, and on the following day in the name of Edward W. Corlies, also of Brooklyn, with H. A. Barclay as master. Corlies sent her to the Far East shortly afterward and under Captain Barclay she arrived at Singapore on 26 July 1869 and left on the 31st for Hong Kong.¹⁰⁷ It seems likely that she was sent out with a view to selling her in Japan and, indeed, her sale to the Chiji of Yoshida for Mexican \$85,000 was reported in January 1870.¹⁰⁸ But the sale was evidently not carried out, and she traded on the China coast and between China and Japan until acquired on 28 July 1871 by John M. Mackie, of Mackie's Hongkew Godown, who continued her in the same service under the name of *Pingon*.¹⁰⁹ On or about 29 March 1873, Mackie mortgaged the steamer to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation for Tls. 24,000, the mortgage being registered at the U. S. consulate general in Shanghai. The following summer and fall, *Pingon* was lengthened and reboilered by Boyd and Co., Russell and Co. furnishing materials to the amount of Tls. 11,946.09.¹¹⁰ Shortly afterward, Mackie made her over to the Union S. N. Co. (to be treated later) and another creditor jointly as partial compensation for losses they had suffered due to the dishonesty of his compradore. However, the steamer was subject to the balance of the first mortgage, viz., Tls. 23,000, as well as to the claims of Russell and Co.,¹¹¹ and furthermore it was estimated it would require Tls. 9,000-10,000 to make her ready for sea, so the directors of the Union S. N. Co. decided against taking her up.¹¹² Effectively the mortgage was foreclosed in 1874,¹¹³ and in *Lloyd's Register* from 1875-1876 through 1877-1878 she is in the name of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, of which William H. Forbes, a partner in Russell and Co., was then chairman. In the *Register* for the latter year, *Pingon's* ownership was changed

¹⁰⁶ G. H. Preble, op. cit., Appendix.

¹⁰⁷ According to *CRS*, Singapore.

¹⁰⁸ *NCH*, 18 January 1870.

¹⁰⁹ *CRS*, Shanghai.

¹¹⁰ *NCH*, 13 November 1873.

¹¹¹ Russell and Co. sued the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp. to collect, but George F. Seward, the American consul general, found in favor of the bank.

¹¹² Union S. N. Co. meeting, *NCH*, 2 April 1874.

¹¹³ *Pingon* was not sold by order of the court, but by consent of the parties involved. Cf. 'The Union S. N. Co. and Messrs. Lane, Crawford and Co. vs. the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp.' (*NCH*, 13 June 1874).

to E. Cunningham and Co.,¹¹⁴ and so continued through 1881-1882. Throughout this period *Pingon* was regularly consigned to and dispatched by Russell and Co. and the latter are given as the owners in the contemporary *Consular Returns of Shipping*. Her subsequent owners were Fullarton Henderson,¹¹⁵ James Alexander Harvie, and Felice Frederick Carozzi.¹¹⁶

Through the years, *Pingon* was employed largely on the China coast and between China and Japan. In particular, she maintained a service between Shanghai and Nagasaki, with sailings approximately weekly in each direction, from 1875 to the beginning of 1877. Her career had its vicissitudes, but was not especially eventful. In August 1874, she went on the rocks at Inasa, near Nagasaki, in a typhoon, but was refloated a couple of weeks later without much damage.¹¹⁷ In July 1877, she was badly damaged in a gale, but was subsequently repaired.¹¹⁸ For a while *Pingon* was operated by the Ningpo S. N. Co., that small successor of the Shanghai S. N. Co., but evidently never owned by them.¹¹⁹ After coming to China, *Pingon* flew the American flag by virtue of sailing letters issued by the U. S. consulate general at Shanghai. She became British and her registry was changed from Shanghai to Hong Kong early in 1881, and in *Lloyd's Register* for 1890-1891 she is marked 'Broken up.'

Russell and Co. were regularly agents for W. S. Lindsay's auxiliary steamers, but only one of them, *Scotland*, seems to deserve a place in the present paper. She was an iron screw vessel of 759 tons net, built in 1856 for Lindsay's line from England to the Cape.¹²⁰ After that enterprise collapsed, she was sent to the Far East for use as a transport in the Indian Mutiny, and she was one of the early steamers in the Yangtze trade,¹²¹ making her first voyage there in June 1861 under Captain A. A. D. Dundas, R.N., who owned her jointly with Mr. Lindsay and others. Thereafter, she plied regularly on the river, with Russell and Co. as her agents. About the end of 1861 she was purchased by Edward Cunningham, a partner in

¹¹⁴ This probably refers to Edward Cunningham, first president of the S. S. N. Co., although he had left China in 1870 (*JMMD* 71, I, 867).

¹¹⁵ *Lloyd's Register*, 1881-1882 (addenda) to 1886-1887. There was an F. Henderson who was a shareholder in the S. S. N. Co. *Pingon* was transferred to J. A. Harvie on 26 November 1884 and by him to F. F. Carozzi on 29 November 1884.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1887-1888 to 1890-1891.

¹¹⁷ *JMMD*, 29 August 1874 and 12 September 1874.

¹¹⁸ *NCH*, 7 July 1877.

¹¹⁹ *NCH*, 28 April 1877, and *JMMD*, 7 April 1877.

¹²⁰ Cf. M. Murray, *Ships and South Africa* (London, 1933), p. 26; W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, IV, 467.

¹²¹ *NCH*, 27 May 1861.

Russell and Co., who continued her in the same trade and to Japan under Captain Ballard, with Russell and Co. as agents.¹²² She appears to have left Shanghai for Hankow on her first voyage under the American flag on 9 January 1862 and to have returned to Shanghai from her last voyage on the river on 13 July 1862, after which she was laid up at that port until 6 October when she left for Hong Kong, whence she proceeded to Japan, arriving at Yokohama on 15 November in charge of Captain Ballard. Later she appears to have gone to Hong Kong as a dispatch from Canton, dated 13 November 1863, states that the American steamer *Scotland* had been seized by the customhouse authorities for taking guns and other contraband cargo in (*sic*) Cum-sing-moon Bay, Canton River.¹²³ In due time she must have been released, as on 29 February 1864, *Scotland* arrived at Nagasaki from Hong Kong under Captain C. L. Gardiner and was sold on 7 March to the Prince of Satsuma.¹²⁴ She served around Japan for some years, being lost in 1871.¹²⁵

The last of the steamers associated with Russell and Co., rather than with the Shanghai S. N. Co., which we consider are *Ta Yung* and *Express*. *Ta Yung* was a small iron steamer of 125 tons gross which had been built at Glasgow by Tod and McGregor in 1858. She left Glasgow on 16 May 1859 and after a tedious voyage under sail arrived at Hong Kong on 2 December. *Ta Yung*, which was intended for towing on the Yangtze but may have carried some cargo, seems to have been operated on that river primarily by the British firm of Shaw Bros. and Co., but in 1868 appears in the name of Russell and Co., although still under the British flag. It may be that Russell and Co. purchased her when the S. S. N. Co. was securing a monopoly on the Yangtze. *Ta Yung* was sold foreign (probably Japanese) at Hiogo on 16 December 1868.

Express was an iron paddle steamer of 490 tons gross built at Glasgow in 1861. She was purchased from David Sassoon, Sons and Co. by Russell and Co. for Tls. 30,000 in February 1868 to get possession of the Ningpo line, which was to the advantage of the Shanghai S. N. Co., but resulted in a loss to Russell and Co. themselves, as, according to the statement of Edward Cunningham at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the S. S. N. Co., 21 February 1868, the steamer was old and fit only to be broken up.¹²⁶

¹²² *CRS*, Shanghai. Her British registry was not closed until 7 March 1862.

¹²³ *New York Herald*, 29 January 1864.

¹²⁴ *CRS*, Nagasaki.

¹²⁵ *NCH*, 8 November 1871.

¹²⁶ *NCH*, 19 February 1868. Also statement of Edward Cunningham at annual meeting of S. S. N. Co., 21 February 1868; *NCH*, 29 February 1868.

To be continued

Murder at Sea

BY R. C. HOLMES

IN 1884 Dudley and Stephens (master and mate of the yacht *Mignonette*) were indicted at Exeter Assizes for the murder of the cabin boy Parker. What the indictment did not mention though the law report (*Regina v. Dudley and Stephens*, L. R. 14, Q. B. D. 273) does, was that they ate him, too, an effective if unusual way of getting rid of the incriminating evidence, though one which may cause a deprecating eyebrow or two to be raised among more conventional landlubberly murderers.

The two prisoners, together with a seaman named Brooks and the *pièce de résistance*, took to a boat when the yacht sank in the South Atlantic over one thousand miles from Cape Town. The only food in the boat was two one-pound tins of turnips, which in itself is curious. There was apparently no time to provision the boat properly, yet tins of turnips are hardly the things one finds on the decks of yachts in much profusion. However, that was all they had; not a very appetizing, and even less a sustaining, stock of food with which to be adrift in a small boat on the high seas.

Apart from this, they had nothing to eat for three days, but on the fourth they caught a small turtle, which lasted them until the twelfth day. Thereafter they went hungry until the twentieth day, when the act for which they were indicted took place. The only drink they had was a little rain water collected in an outspread oilskin.

On the eighteenth day Dudley suggested to Stephens and Brooks that one of the boat's occupants should be sacrificed to feed the rest, but Brooks demurred, and it appears that the boy was not asked for his opinion. On the nineteenth day Dudley renewed his proposal, and again Brooks dissented, nor was the boy consulted. So Dudley proposed that if no vessel were sighted by the next day, the boy should be killed, but still Brooks would not assent. The following day Dudley told Brooks that the latter had better try to get some sleep, and made signs to him and Stephens that the boy should be butchered, but though Stephens agreed, licking his lips, Brooks still objected. The boy, according to the evidence offered to the jury 'was lying in the bottom of the boat, quite helpless and ex-

tremely weakened by famine and drinking sea water, and unable to make any resistance, nor did he ever assent to being killed. Dudley went to the boy, telling him his time had come, put a knife to his throat and killed him.'

According to the evidence, the boy provided the remaining three with food for four days. They seem to have consumed him with improvident speed, considering the privations they had just experienced, and the prospect that those privations would be resumed and possibly prolonged after their gruesome *plat du jour* was eaten. After all, even the small turtle had lasted the four of them for eight days, but possibly they thought it advisable to swallow their last helpings hastily, or even throw the remainder overboard uneaten, for on the fourth day after the murder a passing vessel sighted them, and they would naturally not wish their rescuers to notice any embarrassing leftovers on the sides of their plates.

So much for the story, and the evidence offered in court. The legal position, however, was complicated by the jury, whose decision was that 'if the men had not fed upon the boy they would probably not have survived to be rescued but would within four days have died of famine; that the boy, being in a much weaker condition, was likely to have died before them; that at the time of the act there was no sail in sight nor any reasonable prospect of relief; that in these circumstances there appeared to the prisoners every probability that unless they then or very soon fed upon the boy or one of themselves they would die of starvation; that there was no appreciable chance of saving life except by killing some one for the others to eat; that, assuming the necessity to kill any one, there was no greater necessity for killing the boy than any of the other three men; but whether, upon the whole matter, the prisoners were and are guilty of murder the jury are ignorant, and refer to the Court.'

In other words, after giving a summary of what might have, should have, and couldn't have happened, the twelve good men and true confessed that they could not decide if what actually did happen was right or wrong. So the five senior judges of the Queen's Bench sat to consider this unusual verdict, the moot point being 'does necessity excuse murder?', and Lord Coleridge, in announcing the findings of the five, made it abundantly clear that though it was comparatively easy to give a legal definition of 'murder,' it was extraordinarily difficult to lay down any ruling as to what constituted 'necessity,' especially in view of the fact that future murderers might benefit from the definition, or even create conditions of necessity as an excuse for killing. The judges did appreciate the appalling choice which confronted the prisoners, but felt legally bound

to find them guilty of murder, for which they were sentenced to death, a penalty which was almost immediately commuted by the Crown to one of six months imprisonment without hard labor.

Except for the turnips, the affair is strangely reminiscent of the gruesome though purely fictitious event supposed to have occurred on board *Nancy Brig* in the Indian Ocean. It is interesting to note that W. S. Gilbert, the author of 'The Yarn of the Nancy Bell' (written and published several years before the case of cannibalism just cited) tells us that the poem was originally offered to *Punch*, but was, however, declined by the then editor on the ground that it was 'too cannibalistic for his readers' taste.'

Nearly a century before Parker went the way of most flesh, a somewhat similar incident had occurred in very nearly the same locality, the greatest difference being that cannibalism followed suicide instead of murder. In 1799 six deserters from the garrison at St. Helena stole a boat and tried to row to an American ship which was in the offing. Failing to make her, they decided to carry on to Ascension Island, over 600 miles away, a foolhardy plan, considering that they had but two pairs of oars, no sails, and only one of them had any seafaring experience. They were better off than the crew of *Mignonette*, however, for though they had no tinned turnips for hors d'oeuvres, they did have 25 lbs. of biscuits and a small breaker of water in addition to a chart and a compass.

They started to row on 10 June, and on the 26th they were still at it, in-out, in-out, having sighted no land and their food all gone. On 1 July they caught a small dolphin, which lasted them five days, after which they agreed to draw lots to decide who should be eaten by whom, and one McKennon lost. He calmly opened a vein and bled to death, whereupon the others fell to with hearty appetites. Two days after they had pulled the wishbone and swallowed the last toothsome morsel, they sighted land (the Bahamas, of all places; about five times as far from St. Helena as was Ascension), but in beaching their boat, two more lost their lives. Some time afterwards the ringleader, John Brown, whose conscience or digestion was troubling him, gave himself up to the authorities, and so the story became known.

That, however, was a suicide, and should really not be included in this article, considering its title, but to make up for it, the next is a threefold murder, which will more than bring up the average.

The barkentine *Herbert Fuller*, loaded with lumber, sailed from Boston in the summer of 1896, bound for Rosario. The master of her was Captain Charles I. Nash, and his wife accompanied him on the voyage. The

mate was Thomas Bram, a naturalized American citizen, though born at St. Kitts, and there was also one passenger, Leslie H. Monks, a Harvard undergraduate.

Soon after sailing the master had a bitter quarrel with both the mate and the second mate, and also did not seem to approve of most of the crew. A few nights later, when the barkentine was about 800 miles from Boston, the passenger was awakened by violent screams from the chartroom where the master was sleeping. Monks called out to him several times, but receiving no reply, he went to investigate, and was horrified to find that both Captain Nash and his wife had been brutally murdered, apparently with an axe, for a very bloody one lay on the deck near them.

Monks immediately told the mate, who, after viewing the bodies, decided that a mutiny had broken out. So the two men armed themselves and remained on guard all night, the mate keeping his eye, doubtless his weather one, on the helmsman, another Brown, though Charlie this time, while Monks watched the forecastle. The fact that they made no attempt to call the second mate, whom they could have presumed to have been on their side in the case of a mutiny, was, as was pointed out at the subsequent trial, very curious.

The conduct of the crew when it turned out at dawn proved that the men had no thoughts of mutiny, nor were they aware of the tragedy. At the same time the steward discovered that the second mate would not have answered even if he had been called, for the simple reason that he had been murdered, too, and in a similar fashion.

Everybody knew that the murderer was still on board, and most seem to have suspected Charlie Brown, who, as he was steering the ship, apparently under the supervision of the mate who was on watch (or, at least, presumed to be), would appear to have had the least opportunity of any of leaping from cabin to cabin applying the axe to the inmates.

The vessel was headed back for Boston, and when land was sighted, the crew put both Brown and Bram in irons. The passenger Monks, who had the best opportunity of committing the crime, and no means of proving that he had remained in his cabin until he himself discovered the corpses, seems to have escaped any suspicion at all.

Bram was indicted for murder before a Federal Court at Boston, where he was found guilty and sentenced to death. His lawyers appealed against the sentence, but at the retrial he was again found guilty, but this time was not sentenced to be hanged but to life imprisonment. In each trial the defense accused Brown of the murder, the critical question being whether he could have left the wheel long enough to commit the mur-

ders without the vessel falling off her course, which the mate would have noticed. As usual, the expert witnesses who testified for each side proved conclusively to their own satisfaction (never a difficult task for expert witnesses) that this could and could not be done, nine ancient mariners stating at the first trial that he could have lashed the wheel and left it for twenty minutes, but at the second trial Captain Nash's brother, who had taken command of *Herbert Fuller*, testified that she would be off her course with the sails lifting in two minutes under such circumstances. Nobody seems to have suggested that it would (or should) have dawned on the mate that something was amiss if the ship was careering round the ocean with nobody at the wheel. Bram served fifteen years of his sentence in Atlanta Jail, being paroled in 1913, and granted a free pardon by President Wilson in 1919.

Thoughts about murders at sea had been brought to my mind by a novel I was reading, in which a sailor on board a sailing ship attempted to kill the master of her by dropping a marlin spike on him from aloft.

Death-dealing showers of tools, which the author appears to assume were part of the everyday life on board a sailing ship, seldom occurred at all in real life. In fact, during the seven years I was in sail, I cannot recall it happening once. The sailors in such ships were craftsmen in both senses of the word: they not only took great pride in their work—sailorizing, as they called it—but they were also proud of not doing certain things, and foremost among these was dropping things from aloft, whether by accident or negligence.

It is true that the sailor in the novel in question was supposed to be mad, but are not all sailors, not because they go to sea, but because they continue in that calling? The Romans spoke of the sea as 'the pasture of fools,' and Emerson, in *English Traits*, says 'the wonder is always new, that any man can be a sailor.' If we distrust the opinions of foreigners, as we generally do, our own Dr. Johnson 'opined' that no man would go to sea who had wit enough to get into jail, for being in a ship was being in jail with the added chance of getting drowned.

The only time I can remember anything falling from aloft through human agency was in a steamer, a troop-cum-hospital ship, on 12 Nov. 1918, when we were bound from Durban to Fremantle. A religious service was being held to give thanks for the Armistice; the ship's chaplain, surrounded by the officers, conducting it from the after part of the saloon deck, while the troops, who formed the main, and probably the most thankful part of the congregation, were grouped round the foot of the mainmast. Two sailors were working aloft on that mast: what they were

doing I cannot remember, but it necessitated the use of a top maul, the nautical equivalent of a sledge hammer. The chaplain, in his address, gave little indication, I thought, of the Christian virtue of humility; he was grateful to God, but gave us the impression that He had no choice but to be on the side of the British. At this stage of his discourse there was a cry from aloft of 'stand from under,' and the top maul, like one of Jupiter's bolts, came whizzing down, striking the deck with a mighty crash at the chaplain's feet, and fortunately hurting nobody. After this tactful hint from one above, it was gratifying to observe that he finished his talk on a more humble and contrite note.

I myself was the innocent victim of a dastardly and cold-blooded attempted murder when I was an apprentice in the full-rigged ship *William Mitchell* when my indentures had nearly run their course. I was about twenty years old, and I considered I was as good a sailor as any on board the ship, an opinion which was apparently not shared by one of the best AB's in the forecabin, Joe, sometimes called Dago Joe, a hot-tempered man whose native tongue was Spanish, though Spain was not his homeland.

We were bending a main lower topsail in the tropics, and the watch was spreading along the footropes, preparatory to stretching the head of the sail. Joe had been one of the first aloft and was making for the post of honor, the weather yardarm, to take the responsible job of reeving and hauling the head carring. I resented him doing so, and, disdaining the footropes, ran along the top of the yard, reaching the coveted position just ahead of him. He was considerably peeved, but I think he would have accepted the situation as calmly as his temperament permitted, had I not, in my arrogance, made a disparaging remark. However, there I was, sitting astride the yardarm, hauling on the head carring with both hands; he was next to me, inboard, standing on the footrope and hauling on the head of the sail with one hand, while with the other, which Nature had supplied to ensure his own safety (one hand for yourself, one for the ship, we used to say), he gave me a hearty shove, making a rude remark in Spanish as he did so, from which I gathered that I had done something to annoy him. I slid gracefully off the yardarm, but in falling managed to clutch the lower-topsail sheet, which had been hauled up on the clewline, in readiness for shackling on to the clew of the sail. Thus was I able to climb down safely to the main yard below.

Unfortunately for Joe he did not have the opportunity of admiring my agility. He had leaned well outboard when he gave me that totally unmerited push, and as I let go the head carring, the head of the sail auto-

matically slackened. The combination of these two circumstances caused him to lose his balance and his feet slid inboard along the footrope. He fell, too, whizzing past me when I was about halfway through what the second mate afterwards referred to (rather callously, I thought) as my Indian rope trick. But Joe was luckier than I think he deserved, for the mainsail was bellying out with sufficient rigidity to take his weight and he slid comfortably down. Evidently the shorn lamb is not the only one for whom the force of the wind is adjusted. He landed on the eiderdown-like lower topsail which we had previously unbent, and heaped, as if to catch him, on the main hatch; and he suffered only a severe shaking, proving to his satisfaction that a benign Providence looks after the just.

I should like to be able to add that after this we shook hands and became firm friends, but the very reverse was the case. We hated each other the more, but I soon sensed that he feared me as well; or rather, he feared the waiting in expectation of the revenge he was sure I would seek, and wondering how it would befall. In my charitable mood, I took advantage of his anxiety and suspense, and added to it whenever I could. I would steal up behind him at night, like the dusty curates of Grantchester, with lissom, though nautical rather than clerical, printless toe, holding a belaying pin, or other lethal but legal weapon, and then purposely stumble or make a noise just before I reached him. I hoped to make him feel like one that on a lonesome road doth walk in fear and dread, and having once turned round, walks on and turns no more his head, because he knows a frightful fiend doth close behind him tread; the confessed sensations of another, though more ancient, mariner with a killing on his conscience. I was solicitous in my offers to accompany him aloft after dark, especially when he was bound for a lonely, little-frequented part of the rigging. I was in the van when any heavy weight had to be lowered if he was at the receiving end, underneath. We were both glad when the voyage ended, for I found the strain of inventing menacing situations almost as unbearable as he did the anticipation of them.

That last example was not a successful murder at sea, nor even a premeditated one, but merely a case of a grown man feeling justifiably annoyed with a precocious youth. So to make up for the anticlimax we will finish with a coup which produced three dead master mariners in the same ship, and of which I am reminded by the name of Dr. Adolph Meyer, a New York physician, who, in the 1870's, augmented the profits derived from his practice by insuring the lives of his patients, and then prescribing a sea voyage, i.e., a trip in his rowing boat on a hot afternoon. When they became thirsty he hospitably pressed on them iced beer, laced (un-

known to them, of course) with nitroglycerin, a refreshing beverage which, apparently, not only assuages the thirst, but causes those who drink it to die with all the superficial symptoms of sunstroke.

Dr. Meyer is not mentioned here because he prescribed his lethal nostrums afloat, but because his trial recalls that he was defended by the then well-known lawyer William F. Howe, who had previously appeared (in 1863) for the killer of the three dead master mariners.


William Griffin was the accused, and he was mate of a merchant ship which had been commandeered by the Union in the American Civil War. He was in sympathy with the Confederates, and he tried to persuade the master of his ship to sail south, run the blockade, and join them. This the master refused to do, and soon after he was found dead in his cabin. A new captain was appointed, and when he, too, would not fall in with Griffin's suggestions, he died in similar circumstances.

When a third master was found dead, the suspicions of the owners and the government authorities were aroused, and the body was sent to Boston, where an autopsy was performed. As the stomach was found to contain more copper sulphide than a sailor's stomach should, Griffin was arrested.

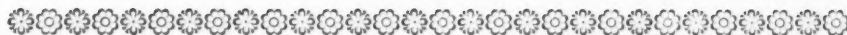
His guilt was unquestionable, for he pleaded guilty to manslaughter, but the Federal government, which was prosecuting, refused to accept this plea because of the taint of treason in his actions. The principal witness was the steward, who testified that he had seen Griffin rubbing the master's claret glass with some substance, the prosecuting counsel contending that, if good wine needs no bush, even less does it require the addition of copper sulphide. The defending lawyer, Howe, suggested that the steward himself was the guilty party, and as the jury disagreed in their verdict, a new trial was ordered.

This took a similar course to the previous one, no new evidence or witnesses being called, but the prosecuting counsel visibly swayed the jury by producing, during his final speech, the very obviously bereaved widows of the three captains, who filed silently into the court, weeping copiously, and dressed completely in black. Things would have looked even blacker for Griffin had he not been defended by a quick thinking and not too finicky advocate. Seated in court, listening with scarcely concealed admiration to his forensic skill were Howe's wife and young daughter. Without a moment's hesitation he pointed at them, 'Will you,' he asked the jury, 'on the unsupported testimony of this disreputable scullion make that woman a widow, and an orphan of that innocent child?' Mrs. Howe gazed pleadingly at the jury; in filial duty Miss Howe looked as innocent

as possible at such short notice. Of course they wouldn't! Tears welled into twenty-four eyes as, without leaving the box, the jury decided that enough blood had already been shed, and William Griffin left the court without a stain of copper sulphide on his character.



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The Port of Boston and the Embargo of 1807-1809

BY ROBIN D. S. HIGHAM

THE total cessation of commerce fell therefore on Boston with blighting effect. Her merchant ships rotted at the wharves, or were hauled up and dismantled. The busy shipyards were still and silent, and all who gained their living by them were thrown out of work. The fisheries were abandoned and agriculture distressed.¹

Thus does Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., defame the industry and ingenuity of his forebears. Contrary to his opinion, and that of many others, the port of Boston had its busiest, though perhaps not most profitable, year during Jefferson's Embargo of the entire period 1783-1815. In contrast, New York may not have had much activity, nor Philadelphia much more, but the evidence of arrival lists for the period 1807-1809 indicates that the Chesapeake Bay ports did a considerable business. Flour was in particular demand all up and down the coast, but especially in Maine, where the appetite of the population increased as their distance from the Canadian border decreased. Boston had been slowly building up its trade with the world since 1783, aided to a large extent by the very wars against which the President's infamous Act was aimed and merchants refused to sit idly by while the Embargo was in effect.

By adopting the technique of the medievalist and doing a good deal of deducing from the few facts and figures available, the maritime historian can in this case present a picture of bustling activity rather than one of ruination. During the years 1801 to 1812 there was about a million dollars difference each year between the national revenue and the national customs revenue, with the total revenue fluctuating from a high of about \$17,000,000 in fiscal 1808 to a low of about \$7,500,000 in fiscal 1809.² The customs revenue was based on the duties paid on goods imported, less drawbacks for re-exports and fishing bounties, plus the tonnage dues. The latter were assessed at fifty cents per ton on foreign vessels and six cents per ton on American. Vessels engaged solely in the coasting trade paid only

¹ Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, III, 206.

² *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 1789-1918, p. 208.

once a year, though a foreign vessel so engaged paid for each entry into a port. A study of the Boston customs revenue as compared to that of the whole United States leads one to the conclusion that during this period Boston did about one eighth of the total import trade of the country, and probably about one fifth of the re-export trade.³ Added to these amounts were the figures for the coastal trade and the illicit trade, both largely unknowns. Using one eighth as Boston's share of the total national trade, we find that the Hub's export trade rose from \$2.5 million in 1790 to \$12 million in 1805. Of this, the re-export trade accounted for \$90,000 in 1790 and about \$10 million in 1805.⁴ In 1806 the export totals for all of Massachusetts were: domestic goods \$6.6 million and re-exports \$14.6 million.⁵ In 1808 the domestic exports dropped to \$1.5 million and the re-exports to \$3.6 million.

Measuring the quantity of imports by the same yardstick, we find that the Boston total rose from \$2.7 million in 1790 to some \$15 million in 1805. Add this to the export trade and we have a total of some \$27 million worth of goods passing over Boston wharves in 1805, not counting the coastal trade.

Boston's trade continued to rise. 1806 was the peak year for national re-exports, the total of \$60,283,000 not being exceeded again until 1917. The Hub's total trade, excluding coastal, rose from \$28 million in that year to about \$31 million in 1807, only to come crashing down in 1808 to a mere \$9 million. These figures have been the basis for many people's belief that the Embargo struck heavily at Boston's trade, but this is not the total picture.

Granted that the *foreign trade* of the port of Boston fell way off, one should look at the ship movements. These had climbed steadily since the wars in Europe had recommenced in 1793, declined slightly with the

³ A Statement shewing the amount of Duties on Imports and Tonnage (Collected at U. S. Ports by Collectors of the Customs), photostats in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Boston Customs Revenue, 1805-1810, in dollars

Year	Tonnage Duties	Passport Fees	Fines	Expenses of Collection	Duties Collected	Drawbacks	Net Revenue #
1805	18,625	2,762	—	59,492	3,718,004	1,317,064	2,350,975
1806	21,684	2,930	—	61,500	4,010,010	1,351,356	2,658,654
1807	19,539	2,142	4,77	66,185	4,072,750	1,410,363	2,662,387
1808	10,660	22	957,75	47,068	1,495,832	157,961	999,736
1809	12,678	3,004	100,10	40,613	1,621,288	524,216	1,079,209
1810	12,182	3,724	15,587,89	38,980	2,773,705	572,519	2,205,324

Net revenue was the sum left after expenses of collection, drawbacks, fish bounties, allowances to fishing vessels, and prosecution expenses had been deducted.

The reason that the sum taken in in fines is so high in 1810 is that many of the cases started under the Embargo only reached a conclusion in this year.

⁴ *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1915*, p. 298.

⁵ *American State Papers, Commerce*, I, 697, 722, 739.

Peace of Amiens in 1802, and risen again to a peak in 1806, dropping back a bit in 1807. The coastal trade rose more slowly and suffered the same setbacks, but, as the accompanying table shows, suddenly soared during 1808, only to fall off again when the Embargo was removed. After the repeal the foreign trade picked up slightly, but uncertainty as to government policy and an unstable situation abroad caused the number of all ship movements to decline to zero by the time of the British blockade in the War of 1812.⁶

On 31 December 1806 Boston owned 118,474 tons of shipping engaged in the foreign trade. Not counting other American and foreign-owned vessels which used the port, this was one fourth of all Massachusetts shipping engaged in the foreign trade and a tenth of the national total.⁷ Probably a safe guess as to the amount of foreign trade tonnage using the port in 1806 would be 150,000 tons.

Boston's Trade in 1807

It is impossible to say that there was any normal year in Boston's trade prior to the Embargo. The peak in her trade was reached in 1806, while 1807 showed a slight decline. But since 1807 is the nearest full year to the Embargo, we have used it as a control year with which to contrast the effect of the Embargo.

Despite the fact that movements in the foreign trade dropped from 1,480 in 1807 to 401 in 1808, in both years the types of vessels engaged in Boston's foreign trade remained stable as to their approximate percentage of the total arrivals and clearances: 21% were ships, 31% were brigs, 41% were schooners, and the remainder sloops. On the other hand, the coastal trade jumped from 1,021 in 1807 to 2,159 in 1808.⁸ This gives a total for

⁶ J. D. Forbes, *Port of Boston, 1783-1815*, pp. 165, 167, 169. An unpublished doctoral dissertation in the Harvard College Library.

⁷ *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), 3 February 1808.

⁸ Unless otherwise noted, all figures are from the *Columbian Centinel*. The *Columbian Centinel* and the *Boston Gazette* agree on their figures as far as foreign trade is concerned, but a sample check of the *Gazette* reveals a startling discrepancy. (We chose to use the *Centinel*, however, because a complete file for the two and quarter years was available, whereas the file of the *Gazette* was by no means complete.) The following table illustrates the problem.

TOTAL COASTAL MOVEMENTS					
1807	March	June	Sept.	Oct.	Total of all movements
C.C.	78	131	59	98	2,701
B.G.	169	232 ^{##}	171 ^{##}	153 ^{##}	c. 3,880
					#incomplete months
1808					
C.C.	72	354	312	237	2,860
B.G.	231	710	497 ^{##}	411 ^{##}	c. 5,797

Despite the sometimes vast differences in the figures, we do not believe that the proportionate distribution of the coastal trade would be substantially changed. The *Gazette*'s figures merely emphasize the increased activity in 1808.

all movements of 2,501 in 1807 and 2,860 in the year following. In other words, the port was busier in 1808 than in a year of unrestricted trade!

Taking the foreign trade by areas it is possible to establish a pattern of trade for 1807. For the purposes of this study, trade with Europe has been divided into four divisions: Russia and the Baltic including the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, Europe from the Elbe to Gibraltar and including the Azores, and the Mediterranean basin. Although the trade with Russia was a small percentage of the total trade in 1807 (there were 31 arrivals and 6 clearances), it was an extremely important one, for the vessels engaged in this commerce brought in the naval supplies so essential to Boston's prosperity in this period. The fact that there were few clearances from Boston for the Baltic may be explained by the fact that a number of vessels in this, as in other trades, sailed from their home ports in the Bay area, but returned with their cargoes to the Boston entrepot. Their return to their home port would be listed in the coastal movements. A much larger percentage of the arrivals were vessels who made the trade with Russia a triangular affair, usually clearing for Amsterdam or a German port.

Washington sailed for Bremen on 14 April 1807 and arrived from Gothenburg in 43 days on 30 September. She sailed for Marseilles on 8 December and arrived from London in 45 days on 24 August 1808. She then returned to Duxbury on 27 September. The sloop *Stork*, after a trip to Cadiz which terminated at the end of January 1807, made another voyage which ended 4 February 1808 when she arrived from Tommingen in 80 days with a cargo of iron. The ship *Mandarin* arrived from St. Petersburg in 143 days on 24 February 1807. Later in the year she made a voyage to India and back (9 May 1807-4 April 1808), taking 89 days from Isle de France with sugar, coffee, and cotton. The ship *Laura* sailed for Nantes and returned in 66 days from Cronstadt (29 January-7 October 1807). The new ship *Helper* came down from Newburyport on 22 February, sailed on 6 March to Amsterdam, returning from St. Petersburg in 36 days on 24 September 1807. (In 1808 she was engaged in the coastal trade with Savannah.) The ship *Aurora* was one of the few who sailed directly to the Baltic via Copenhagen and returned directly to Boston (27 May-3 December 1807). At least two other ships normally engaged in this trade appear in the coastal trade in 1808.

In the trade with Great Britain there were 116 arrivals from Britain but only 26 departures from Boston. Of these 26 a good many were regular traders on the North Atlantic shuttle. The bulk of this trade was carried on by ships (78 of the arrivals and 14 of the departures), while of the re-

mainder, brigs carried all but a small proportion. Clearances for Britain were at the rate of about two a month, while arrivals ranged from two to eight in the winter months to an average of 21 per month from May to October.

As with the Baltic, there was triangular trade as well as direct intercourse. *Sally* under Winslow Lewis belongs to the latter category. She arrived from Liverpool on 9 April 1807, sailed again 9 May, returned on 1 September after a normal 42-day crossing, sailed 20 November, arriving again on 18 April 1808 in 34 days. After that she is lost among the *Sallys* in the coastal trade, for there is no record of her making another voyage. Another *Sally*, under Captain Rowe of Bath, arrived 51 days out of Liverpool (on 13 September 1807), departed for Bath, arriving from Liverpool again (on 28 April 1808) after only 30 days at sea. The regular trading ship *New Galen* made three voyages to London on which the return trips took only 28, 37, and 31 days respectively. A triangular trader was the schooner *Mohawk*, which sailed for Trieste 22 December 1807 and returned on 6 December 1808, 35 days out from Liverpool with salt. Another was the ship *United States* which arrived from Liverpool 14 September 1807, sailed for Norfolk on 20 October. She appeared from Cadiz on 3 October 1808 with wine and salt after a crossing of only 40 days, and departed for Norfolk again on 17 November.

The triangular route was popular in most trades. The schooner *Union* arrived 19 May 1807 in ballast from Demerara, sailed 23 June for St. John, N. B., and returned to Boston on 16 November, 72 days out of Leith, Scotland. The brig *Robert* made her triangular voyage via the West Indian island of St. Croix to Copenhagen, 17 March–15 September 1807. The brig *Dolphin* left on 3 July 1807 for Labrador and Europe, evidently to pick up fish on the way over, and returned on 1 February from Havana. The ship *Ganges* sailed for Amsterdam on 28 March 1807 and returned from Lisbon with salt and fruit on 11 September.

From the western seaboard of Europe (exclusive of the Mediterranean) there were 124 arrivals composed of 24 ships, 53 brigs, 45 schooners, and two sloops. Thirty ships, 52 brigs, and 31 schooners cleared. Many of the smaller vessels were engaged in the salt, fruit, and wines trades with ports between Bordeaux, Gibraltar, and the Azores. The bulk of the departures occurred in the first half of the year, while the arrivals were largely concentrated in April and September. Even more than in trade with the Baltic or with England, European voyages varied as to route, ports of call, and length, both for the entire journey and for the homeward voyage.

Many of those trading with Amsterdam picked up cargoes there and re-

turned to Boston. Such a one was the brig *Volant*, which staggered in on 30 August 1807 with a full load of gin after 60 days at sea, while the brig *Sally* took only 42 days. The ship *Meridian* sailed for Rotterdam 11 January 1807 and returned from Amsterdam in 37 days on 13 September. The brig *Sally and Mary* was a fast sailer who set off for Hamburg on 8 April and returned on 11 September 1807, only 41 days out of Lubeck with iron, hemp, and duck. She left again in December for Alicant and returned from Malaga in March of the following year.

The brig *Union* made a round trip to Havana in the first three months of 1807 then sailed for the Bay of Biscay on 16 June. She finally returned from Ferrol on 18 March 1808. The schooner *Trial* made a trip to Martinique early in 1807, then went to Cadiz taking 83 days for the return trip from Algerciras. The brig *Sally Ann* arrived in April from Bordeaux, sailed 16 June for Rotterdam and returned from Bordeaux in 36 days on 16 October 1807.

Trade with the Mediterranean was composed of 48 arrivals and 55 clearances. Of the arrivals only nine were ships, while there were 18 brigs and 21 schooners; departures consisted of 20 ships, 24 brigs, and 11 schooners. Voyages to within the Mediterranean basin were some of the slowest made by the Boston vessels. The schooner *Minerva* took 102 days from Marseilles; the brig *Mary-Caroline* took 73, the schooner *Heart of Oak* took 88, though *Favourite*, a brig, sailed for Marseilles on 30 December 1806 and returned from Palermo in 43 days (perhaps due to a combination cargo of wine and leathers). *Mary-Caroline* went to Cadiz after her trip from Marseilles and arrived back in Boston on 2 December 1807, 73 days out with salt. (This was by no means the slowest voyage from Cadiz; the schooner *Antelope* arrived on 3 March 1809, 100 days out.) During 1808 she went down East and to Philadelphia. The ship *Bulah* returned from Leghorn in 108 days against the westerly gales on 18 January 1808. The schooner *Charles* gives a pretty good idea of the wanderings that a useful vessel might take at this time. Arriving from Malaga on 17 January 1807, she sailed for Nantes on 6 February, returning from La Rochelle on 23 July, sailed in ballast for Martinique on 22 September and got back from that trip on 12 December. Because of the Embargo she entered the coastal trade between Boston and Baltimore or Alexandria during 1808.

Trade with the Far East, Africa, and Australia (to which continent one ship was dispatched in June) was light with but 38 arrivals and 23 departures. One or two traded with Canton, a few with Calcutta, a few with the Cape of Good Hope area, and a few were slavers from Goree.

Trade with China, Calcutta, Batavia, and Manila was carried on large-

ly by ships. The pattern varied somewhat. Many of the vessels went out via the northwest coast of America where they picked up furs to trade in Canton. Others evidently went to Amsterdam to pick up specie or manufactures to trade out in the East. The brig *Lydia* went out via the northwest coast returning in 123 days from Canton on 12 May 1807. The longest return voyage recorded in this period was the 160 days of the ship *Levant*, which arrived on 12 August 1808, having taken 14 months and eleven days for the round trip to Canton. The shortest homeward passage was that of the ship *Governor Strong*, 109, closely followed by *Catherine* in 110 days. Perhaps an exceptionally long voyage was that of the ship *Hazard* which took 32 months to make the round trip. She returned to Boston on 23 June 1808, 144 days from Canton with teas, nankins, and china. She lost only eight men during the voyage; three without protections were removed by H. M. S. *Niad* off the Cape of Good Hope when homeward bound. The other five were washed overboard in a gale on the voyage out.

Voyages from Calcutta sometimes took as long as from Canton. The ship *Levant* arrived in 98 days on 19 April 1807, but *Exeter*, also a ship, took 144 (26 October 1807). Even after the voyage was over there could be an unforeseen delay, as when the ship *Dromo* went ashore on Dorchester Flats the day that she arrived from Calcutta (21 April 1807). The only recorded arrival from Manila is that of the ship *Herald* which arrived on 18 April 1807, 132 days out. The ship *Jenny* apparently was engaged in the Australian-Mauritian trade. She arrived from the latter place in March 1807 and sailed in June for Port Jackson, not returning before the end of March 1809. Occasionally brigs such as *Tropic* engaged in trade with the Far East. On 19 May 1808 she arrived in 92 days from Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena with a cargo of coffee. Her time compared favorably with that of the ship *Calumet* which took 110 days from Batavia and nine months and twenty days for the round trip (9 May 1807-29 February 1808).

The schooner *Yarmouth* represents the triangle trade on the African run. She sailed for the Cape Verdes on 8 April 1807 and returned on 13 January 1808, 84 days out of Goree, Senegal, with 'hides, horns, ivory, etc.' She returned from Goree again on 16 July 1808 after a passage of only 32 days, pointing up the truth that it was difficult to predict the length of voyages in days of sail. The brig *Star* arrived on 30 April 1807, 72 days out from Sierra Leone, departed again for Africa on 9 June and completed her round trip via London to bring home a cargo of gum by 5 December. She sailed again, this time by permission on 7 April 1808, but did not return before the end of March 1809. The brig *Eliza* arrived

25 April 1808, 55 days out from River Pongo with coffee, pepper, and hides.

Isle de France (Mauritius) was another part of the African trade. The round trip took about nine months. The brig *Washington* sailed on 17 January 1807 and returned on 3 November after a passage of 120 days. The ship *Laura* only went as far as the Cape of Good Hope, returning from Cape Town in 58 days with a cargo of saltpeter, pepper, and nutmegs.

Trade with South America was also light; 25 arrivals and 11 clearances. A fair percentage of these vessels was engaged in the hide trade with the River Plate area, but there were exceptions. The sloop *Betsy Ann* arrived on 13 April 1808 with oil and sealskins from the Patagonian coast. The ship *Perseverance* spent a year (1 September 1807–12 September 1808) on a voyage to South America which took her to France and back via Pernambuco. She arrived in Boston in 32 days from the latter with sugar, cotton, and ebony wood. The schooner *Jane* brought in coffee, cocoa, and indigo from Laguaira, Venezuela, when she returned on 25 April 1807. The snow *Pallas* took from late December 1806 to the following November to go to Buenos Aires and pick up a cargo of hides and beef. But she may have been a poor sailer for she spent 85 days on the voyage home as compared to 51 for *Perseverance* from Montevideo.

By far the largest number of movements in and out of the harbor in the foreign trade were made by the West Indian traders: 376 arrivals and 187 departures. A number of the vessels engaged in this trade were regulars who made several round trips each year and sailed all year long. These vessels brought back sugar and rum, salt, logwood, turtles, pineapples, and mahogany, and took down provisions, fish products, and lumber. Whereas the Liverpool run took about 42 days westbound and a voyage from Calcutta about 132, vessels northbound from the West Indies took only about 22 days, beaten only by a 3- to 4-day voyage from Canada. This was predominantly an area in which small to medium-sized vessels could operate most efficiently. Of the arrivals, 173 were brigs and 158 schooners, only 29 ships and 16 sloops. Only 19 ships and six sloops cleared as compared with 80 brigs and 81 schooners. This was a bustling and valuable trade and was largely responsible for the re-exports which made up about a fourth of the total trade of the port in peacetime. In 1807 the customs collected \$4,072,751.15 in duties on merchandise and for the Mediterranean fund of which \$1,440,364.68 was returned in the form of drawbacks to merchants who re-exported the goods.⁹

⁹ "A Statement shewing the amount of Duties on Imports and Tonnage (Collected at U. S. Ports by Collectors of the Customs)," photostats in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Two to three months was the normal time for a voyage to and from the West Indies. The ship *Sally* made two round trips in 1807, one taking from 27 February to 14 May, and the other from 13 June to 22 September. The shortest passage from Havana was that of the schooner *Swift* which took only ten days under Captain Hilton in March 1808. Another schooner of the same name took 36 days in October 1807, though from St. Lucia. The sloop *Hannah* took 48 days from Martinique to Boston in April 1807, yet the sloop *Caroline* made the round trip to New Providence in 44 days, not counting 15 days in quarantine after she arrived on 13 June 1807. When she returned in August she was carrying wood, molasses and turtles.

The one other area of foreign trade was that with the Maritimes, which was really a coastal trade. This was largely a business conducted with schooners and brigs, though nine ships and six sloops arrived and seven ships and three sloops cleared for Canada during the year. Most of the arrivals apparently brought either fish for the Amorys or plaster from Windsor, N. S. Altogether this branch of Boston's trade accounted for 149 of the 607 foreign arrivals in 1807 and 152 of the 573 departures.

Vessels trading with the Maritimes were largely schooners who made a round trip every two weeks between Boston and Nova Scotia with fish and plaster, grindstones and building materials. There was no evidence of what was taken to Canada other than fishhooks and bait, but it is most likely that cargoes contained flour, grain and imported goods from the West Indies. Typical of the trade was *Angenoria* which departed for Windsor on 13 June and arrived back on the 28th, sailed for St. Croix, New Brunswick, on 3 July, arrived in Boston 17 July and sailed for Windsor on the 24th. In September she made a voyage to Newfoundland and in October varied the routine by going to Halifax. During the Embargo she was engaged in the run down to the Penobscot area. In 1808 some of the Canadian traders reversed the process and brought West Indian goods into Boston, as did the brig *Lord Nelson* which brought in sugar and rum from Halifax.

In a normal year such as 1807, vessels from the Hub area traded to all parts of the world and brought to Boston's docks the gamut of known goods as well as the invisible profits of shipping. In 1807 Boston was still a leading port of the United States and she had a healthy flow of shipping in and out of her harbor. The coastal trade was steady, reaching its peak periods of activity in the months of May and June and October, after vessels had brought goods into the entrepot in the spring and fall. 1808 was an abnormal year, marking the beginning of the decline in Boston's trade which finally led to stagnation during the War of 1812. Foreign trade and

profits shrank, but coastal activity increased as much, perhaps, as 1,500 movements or 30 per cent over 1807.

Foreign Trade in 1808

The blighting effect of the Embargo on Boston's foreign trade must at once be apparent when one compares the trade with the various areas of the world in 1807 with trade in 1808. During the entire year three vessels arrived from the Baltic area and none departed; 27 came from Europe and only two cleared; 36 from Britain, two clearances; eighteen from the Mediterranean and only one departure; 24 arrivals from Africa and the Far East to one departure; ten arrived from South America and only two cleared. However, trade with the West Indies was not curtailed quite as drastically for there were 139 arrivals from there, though only officially 25 clearances. Eight vessels arrived in January, ten in February, twenty in March; and fifteen in April; for the rest of the year the rate was about twelve per month. Fourteen of the departures occurred in August when merchants were allowed to send abroad for their property which had been stranded when the Embargo was declared. Some of the arrivals may be accounted for out of the 34 vessels which sailed for the West Indies in November and December 1807, some from the so-called 'Permission' vessels in August, and in number, like *Short Staple*, from those who suffered some 'misfortune' which caused them to have to put into a Caribbean haven.¹⁰

Trade with the Maritimes dropped to about a third of its previous volume with only 73 arrivals and 38 departures. As with West Indian trade, the big month was August when there were 14 clearances to 12 arrivals, followed by 14 arrivals the next month. Canadians could deliver cargoes in Boston, but could not take on board a return load. The Embargo caused a shift in trade which made the easternmost end of the Maine coast an entrepot for food supplies for Canada. In fact, by May of 1808 Gallatin was complaining to Jefferson that nearly 50,000 barrels of flour plus almost 100,000 bushels of grain had been authorized by the Bay State governor. Governor Sullivan replied testily to Jefferson's rebuke and claimed that the 90,000 coastal inhabitants of his state needed a pound of flour a day. This worked out to 164,250 barrels per year or at least 13,500 per month.¹¹ Gallatin's annoyance with the governor may be judged by the fact that he noted that between 2 and 7 May 1808 there was landed at

¹⁰ For the story of *Short Staple* see below.

¹¹ Sears, L. M., *Jefferson and the Embargo*, Durham, N. C., 1927, p. 80 ff. N.B. Maine was still part of Massachusetts until 1820.

'Quoddy: 19,000 barrels of flour, 4,000 of pork, and 4,000 in naval stores.¹² If little 'Quoddy needed this much food, what would the whole Massachusetts coast consume?

The Coastal Trade

Boston's coastal trade was always bustling. Many sloops and schooners were employed in distributing the merchandise brought into the entrepot by the foreign trading vessels and in carrying foodstuffs and lumber up and down the coast of the United States from Passamaquoddy to recently acquired New Orleans. At this time the coastal trade was divided into four areas as far as Boston was concerned. To New England and New York went some farm produce, lumber, and, above all, imported goods. Bostonians went to the Middle States region for flour, to the Southern States for cotton and tobacco, and to New Orleans. Often in the voyages to the slave states, Boston vessels carried fish, as Massachusetts (which included Maine) possessed five sixths of the country's fishing fleet.

In 1807 the coastal trade started at some 43 movements in January, rose to 144 in May and held that approximate level until September when the number of movements dropped to 59, picked up in October to 98, and then declined to 58 in December.¹³ In 1808 the number of movements started out at 66, then climbed to 345 in June, dropped back in July and August, rose again to 313 in September and finally fell to 172 in December. This last figure still exceeds the total movements of the same month in 1807 when there were 150. It would appear that the people who reported rotting ships in the harbor late in 1808 were really seeing vessels laid up in the usual way for the winter, glad of a rest after a busy summer.

It is significant to note that peak months in the coastal trade occurred in the month following notable increases in foreign arrivals. May and September witnessed the greatest number of foreign arrivals while June and October showed the most activity in the coastal trade. The coastal trade was a very regular business in a normal year such as 1807 with the number of arrivals and clearances being just about equal in the trade to Portland (39:47), New Hampshire and north of Boston (110:97), south of Boston, Rhode Island and Connecticut (90:88), and to the area to the south. The exceptions were Maine except Portland (57:91), the Chesapeake Bay area excluding Baltimore (55:20), and the South (68:34) and New Orleans (15:5). Perhaps a good deal of the discrepancy may be ex-

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³ For all figures in this section see Appendix Table.

plained by the practice of making triangular voyages, especially to the cotton states, and a number of others, no doubt, appear here as unbalanced in the ratio of arrivals to departures by the fact that a coaster would be listed as merely arriving from her last port of call. While from southern area ports there were more arrivals than departures, there were many more clearances for Maine than arrivals. This would seem to indicate that vessels went from Maine to the South, say with lumber, then picked up cotton or flour and returned to Boston, and thence to Maine with imports and necessities. In support of this thesis we should point out that there were 234 clearances for Maine including Portland, the Chesapeake area including Baltimore and the South, while there were 258 arrivals from these areas. These figures are near enough to indicate a regular pattern of trade in 1807 such as has been suggested.

In 1808 there is a notable change in the patterns of the coastal trade which flowed in and out of Boston. Though trade with New York and the Hudson remained substantially the same and the arrivals from Philadelphia doubled, yet with the exception of trade to New Orleans there was a considerable increase in the coastal trade to other United States ports. Movements of vessels to Portland which had totalled 86 in 1807 moved up to 115, while the most spectacular change occurred in the number of coasters visiting the rest of the Maine coast. In 1807 there were 148 movements all told. In 1808 there were 507 arrivals and 603 clearances, not counting those to Portland. At first the clearances were for the normal Maine ports such as Bath, Wiscasset, Penobscot, Saco, Kennebunk, Quoddy, Eastport, and Castine. Then as the summer of 1808 wore on more and more names were added: Waldoboro, Belfast, Hallowell, Bucksport, Harrington, Freeport, Yarmouth, Cushing, Old Town, Warren, Isleboro, Damariscotta, York, Boothbay, Wells, and Vinalhaven. Ports close to the Canadian border began to lose popularity as soon as *Wasp* or other naval vessels or a revenue cutter hove in sight and the word got back to Boston.

The short stretch of coast from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which in 1807 had 207 movements had 246 in 1808. More spectacular was the trade which suddenly developed to satisfy the famine-ridden residents from the Bay to New Haven. In 1807, 90 vessels had arrived from that area and 88 departed for harbors along the southern New England coast. The following year there were 259 arrivals and 237 clearances. Places now familiar to summer residents received cargo after cargo, from which a good many barrels no doubt ended up in Nova Scotia or thereabouts after

an illicit transfer at sea. The farther from Boston the more famished the population!

The figures indicate that trade with ports from Baltimore to the South was not neglected. Though Baltimore itself had fewer Boston arrivals and clearances in 1808 than in the previous year (63:71), the rest of Chesapeake Bay showed an increase of 53 over the 75 of 1807, and the South (except New Orleans) showed an increase from 102 to 133. All of these figures helped to swell the total coastal arrivals from 535 in 1807 to 1,267 in 1808, departures from 486 to 1,192. The first three months of 1809 saw the coastal trade continue at a level as much as 100 per cent above the 1807 level for the same period and about at the same level as in 1808 for the first two months with a sharp increase in March when the Embargo was lifted and vessels left to pick up cargoes at other ports.

Though it is not possible for us to estimate the amount of money which Boston merchants made in the coastal trade during the Embargo, nor can we really determine their losses, we have disproved the theory that they were idle. Merely taking 100 tons as the average capacity of a vessel, somewhere between 280,000 and 525,000 tons of shipping used the port in 1808, carrying about the same amount of cargo. Much of the evidence presented by historians in support of the theory that the ports were stagnant must be carefully analyzed with respect to the realities of trade in a wind-powered era when shipping was seasonal. We should be interested to read eye-witness accounts of Boston harbor in the summer of 1808 written by a mariner rather than by a visiting landlubber. We doubt that he would picture rotting hulks and starving seamen.

As we have noted earlier in this article, the coastal trade presents a peculiar problem as far as information is concerned. While this probably does not change the proportions of the trade to various areas, it does mean that it is not possible to trace coastal movements completely. Yet, sufficient material has been uncovered to provide a fair picture of this part of Boston's commerce. Vessels in the coastal trade in any year other than that of the Embargo can probably be divided into two classes: first, those vessels who were foreign traders but who made one leg of their voyage between American coastal ports; i.e. the ship *Hermione* which arrived from the Cape Verdes on 7 January 1808 and then departed on 9 February for Saco, Maine. Secondly, there were the more regular coastal traders who plied between two coastal ports on a more or less regular schedule. *Vobusia* commuted between Fairfield, Connecticut, and Boston on a round-trip-per-month basis. The brig *Two Friends* made a round trip to Savannah

about every sixty days. The fast new brig *Russell* sailed for New Orleans 9 December 1808 and completed the round trip on 30 March 1809, taking 23 days to come up from Louisiana. *Federal George* a regular trading brig on the Baltimore-Boston run made a round trip about every 35 days, while the schooner *Retaliation* made a round trip to Philadelphia about every 30 days. In 1807 there were a number of regular traders, some of whom ran practically a shuttle service between Boston and Nantucket (*Fair American* and *Hawk*), Gloucester (*Nancy*), Salem (*Cynthia*), and Portland (*Mason's Daughter*), whose round trips took less than a week. Thus it was theoretically possible for some of them, like *Nancy*, to make 52 trips a year, weather permitting. 1808, of course, saw a tremendous increase in the coastal trade. According to the *Gazette* there were 358 arrivals and 382 departures in June alone. (In the four days from the 2nd to the 5th inclusive there were 91 arrivals and 78 departures.) Vessels like *Boat Bird* of Bath made weekly trips to Boston to fetch flour for the starving inhabitants—of Canada.

There were various ways in which this new activity was carried on. Many merchants found it worth their while in 1808 to buy a coasting certificate from the customs inspector, for there was a loophole in the Embargo Act which allowed the Governor to issue certificates of necessity to merchants to enable them to take flour to starving coastal hamlets. Letters from Jefferson and Gallatin had no effect on dying Governor Sullivan, while the certificates themselves were traded like stock in Alexandria.¹¹ Other coasters found an even more lucrative voyage could be made if 'bad weather' or 'enemy action' prevented one from reaching his destination.

An excellent illustration of the hazards of war is furnished by the case of the brig *Short Staple*. She was a regular trader with the West Indies as is illustrated by the record of her comings and goings in 1807. Captain Cleaveland had sailed on 29 January for Guadeloupe, where his place was taken by Captain Gorham. The brig reached Boston again on 22 April and sailed for Guadeloupe exactly a month later, completing that trip on 21 August after three days in quarantine. She sailed again on 13 October, this time for Martinique, but returned from Guadeloupe on 21 January 1808 after a 36-day passage from the West Indies. She then apparently remained inactive (or unreported in the *Centinel*) until 4 October when she sailed for Baltimore.¹² Meanwhile the British privateer sloop *Ino* of 10 guns had been in Boston since 10 September making repairs to a sprung

¹¹ J. D. Forbes, 'Boston Smuggling, 1807-1815,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, X, No. 2, April 1970.

¹² *United States District Court (Boston) Records*, III, 485 ff., give the sailing date as 10 October.

mast and a leaky hull. *Ino's* departure was not recorded, though this may have been due to her being a naval vessel of sorts. Upon arrival in Baltimore *Short Staple* picked up 1,315 barrels and 200 half-barrels of flour for Boston. She left Baltimore on the 28th, was delayed for seven days at Hampton Roads, and then started for Boston. Shortly after she cleared the Capes of the Chesapeake, she was taken prize by *Ino*. Along with another captive she was taken to Haiti, where the Englishman abandoned her, taking the other prize to Jamaica. Since the people of St. Nicholas Mole were in need of food, the humanitarian captain of *Short Staple* sold his cargo at \$35 a barrel (it had cost him \$5). He loaded salt at Turk's Island and returned to Cape Harbor where the brig was arrested on her arrival for violating her bond. She was forwarded to Boston, where she arrived on 8 March 1809. When the case came into court, the brig was condemned. The captain's story fell apart when Judge Davis pointed out that *Ino* had been in Boston when *Short Staple* sailed, that they had been seen to visit each other in Hampton Roads, and that no privateer was likely to leave a valuable prize without strong provocation.¹⁶

But *Short Staple's* owner did not lose financially; he gained. He had paid \$7,075 for the flour and had put up bonds for twice the amount of the vessel and her cargo. Not counting the salt, he lost a maximum of \$19,150, the brig being valued at \$2,000–\$5,000 depending on her age.¹⁷ He had sold his flour for \$39,525, so that he still made a profit of \$15,200 less expenses for the crew and insurance.

Another method of alleviating hardship was begun by the District Court which allowed a man to post a bond for his vessel after she had been condemned. Thus *Betsy* was returned to her owner when he gave a bond for her appraised valuation.¹⁸ It is possible that there was some collusion among the merchants, for not infrequently the customs officers would come across abandoned goods. Upon condemnation by the court, these goods would be sold at auction where it would be possible for the owner to buy them back at a not unreasonable price.¹⁹

Late in 1808 the President began to allow some merchants to send vessels abroad to settle the affairs of those who had been caught totally unprepared for the stoppage. This led to many attempts to smuggle extra provisions aboard. We know from the court records that some were unsuccessful, but others no doubt succeeded. These vessels, along with the few British and Canadian ones which had sailed in after the Embargo began,

¹⁶ *United States District Court (Boston) Records*, III, 485 ff.

¹⁷ In April 1808 a 185-ton brig was advertised for sale for \$2,000 (*Columbian Centinel*, 6 April).

¹⁸ *U. S. District Court (Boston) Records*, III, 293 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 335 ff., 332 ff., 337.

account for the 73 clearances for foreign parts in 1808. The failure to allow vessels to go abroad, even to the West Indies, caused a number of hardships. A case in point being the fact that there were in April some 200,000 quintals of fish on hand (valued at \$600,000) which were in danger of putrifying if not shipped out before the hot weather began. On the other hand there were some compensations in the allowance made for merchants to go abroad to collect property which they had owned on 22 December 1807. Although merchants in New York apparently knew about the permission ships in late March not much seems to have been done in Boston until well into the summer. While generally there were few advertisements for permission ships sailing in the early summer, quite a few appeared in August when the sailing deadline was extended two weeks. Normally the advertisements for cargo were limited to one or two per issue, though occasionally rumors would prompt people to advertise vessels which would sail as soon as the Embargo was lifted. Hopes were raised late in the year by the fact that Nonintercourse was being discussed in Washington.

Of the vessels which left Boston for foreign ports by permission 28 returned with cargo, two returned in ballast, and fourteen had not returned by 21 January 1809.²⁰ The 44 vessels which had been allowed to sail between 22 December 1807 and 30 September 1808 had had a total tonnage of 6,431, or 145.6 tons apiece. The Bostonians were lucky in that none of their vessels were apparently seized or detained, for the rest of the country sent out 550 of whom 385 returned with cargo by 28 December 1808, 29 returned in ballast, 123 had not returned and thirteen suffered mishaps. Of these latter, two were lost at sea, four taken by the Royal Navy, but only one condemned, and seven seized by U. S. cruisers. As the *Centinel* pointed out, the risk of capture, except by American warships 'protecting our trade,' was less than one per cent.

As the Embargo drew to a close Boston shippers carried on what amounted to a private feud with the Federal government in their area. The collector and his assistant had resigned and the War Department ordered Colonel Boyd to blockade the port. The senior naval officer became acting collector, and he now refused clearances. At the same time the new Embargo Act reached the city. From the end of January until after the first week of February there was little shipping activity because of the blockade and the fact that the value of the bonds on coastal shipping was raised, causing many coasters to wait until their owners could arrive from down East to raise the money for a bond. What the new act meant in

²⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, 21 January 1809, for all material in this paragraph.

terms of bond increase may be gathered from the case of the brig *Franklin* which arrived from Norfolk with a cargo containing 1,421 barrels of flour, 18 hogsheads of tobacco, 350 bushels of corn, and 50 kegs of lard, for which cargo she was required to give bond of \$200,000.²¹ The whole cargo and the vessel were worth no more than \$15,000 at the most; and under the original Act the owner would only have had to put up \$30,000 in bonds!

Colonel Boyd finally modified his stand after pressure was brought by the General Court which had been memorialized by the shippers.²² After this, fairly normal arrangements apparently continued until the news of the Nonintercourse Act reached the city on 11 March 1809.²³ Though this news made no great splash in the papers, about a week later there began to appear a whole raft of shipping advertisements and trade again began to pick up.

Whereas during 1807 items of interest in the *Centinel* had been mostly concerned with news of foreign parts, in 1808 a great deal of information about the coastal areas was supplied. Such items as that the collector at Eastport had received special instructions from Washington which were designed to stop the trade with Canada,²⁴ followed some time later by the news that people at Quoddy were becoming rich because they were being paid two dollars a day to guard the provisions which had been landed, while in every fog they rowed madly across to the Canadian side where every barrel of flour brought \$12.50.²⁵ This trade received considerable impetus from Jefferson's granting the Governor of the Bay State the right to issue flour certificates in order to allow merchants to supply starving coastal towns.²⁶ Notices of vessels for sale by the U. S. Marshal, and other entries recorded the work of the revenue officers. The revenue cutter under Captain Williams seized the sand-lighter sloop *Lark* out near St. George's Island with 60-70 barrels of flour on board, presumably for an offshore meet with a Canadian vessel. The crew were arrested, but the skipper had disappeared.²⁷ The schooner *Ready Rhino* was apprehended in the Bay and brought back to discharge 25 barrels of flour not on her manifests; then she was allowed to proceed to Duxbury.²⁸ By August the attempts of the customs men to close up the holes through which smug-

²¹ *Columbian Centinel*, 18 February 1809.

²² *Ibid.*, 27 February 1809.

²³ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1809.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1808.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 June 1808.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 May 1808.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 July 1808.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 July 1808.

glers squirmed caused the *Centinel* to remark that it would soon be illegal to put off from a wharf in a skiff to save a drowning child!²⁹ In the same month a longboat carrying eight underpinning stones for a house in Newburyport had to put up \$200 to be allowed to make the voyage from Boston and had even then been stopped a number of times during her voyage of less than 60 miles. 'Surely such things are somewhat clever in these *Ogyahne* times,' remarked Editor Russell.³⁰ After the weather turned worse in the fall some vessels came into harbor and turned around and ran free when the wind changed. A new snow from down East pulled this trick during a sleet storm.³¹ Others were not so lucky. Many complained that they not only had to get a customs house clearance and stop at Fort Independence on the way out, but that the frigate *Chesapeake* detained and boarded them off Nantasket.³² Boston men were smart in at least one way, among many others: they removed evidence of ownership from their vessels, so that they could not be prosecuted. The U. S. schooner *Enterprise* brought in the schooner *Wealthy* of Scituate fully laden with provisions but without any evidence of ownership.³³ In June 1808 there were indications that American vessels which broke bond to go to West Indian ports were hiding their names with pieces of canvas because they had found out that others were reporting their arrival in foreign ports and that home newspapers then broadcast the news. Many of these were vessels which went abroad 'in distress.' A vessel from Savannah to Philadelphia was reported to have arrived in Liverpool in distress, where she unfortunately had to sell her cargo of cotton, at a good price.³⁴ Vessels which went to the West Indies were received with open arms if they carried provisions, but were refused entrance if in ballast. Up in Bath General William King, who had written articles against the Embargo in the *Centinel*,³⁵ ran his brig *Mary-Jane* fully laden with provisions out of the river after a duel with the revenue cutter and the fort on the day before he received his appointment as collector.³⁶ Perhaps a fitting end to the tales of misdeeds during the Embargo is the story contained in an advertisement on 11 January 1809. A reward of \$200 was offered for the recovery of the sloop *Julia* which was stolen from India Wharf by persons

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 August 1808.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1808.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 28 October 1808.

³² *Ibid.*, 9 November 1808.

³³ *Ibid.*, 26 November 1808.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 April 1808.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 December 1808.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 January 1809 and Anonymous, *The Disclosure*, No. 1, Bath, 1821.

alleging that they were customs house officers and that *Julia* was a suspicious vessel.³⁷

In such a port as Boston and its environs there was bound to be a certain amount of smuggling, and during the Embargo so many people were against the government that it was impossible for the customs men to catch all of the offenders. More than that, they were handicapped by a lack of the proper means, mainly revenue cutters. Unless a smuggler could be taken in the harbor or on the wharves, the famous gunboats assigned to help the revenueurs were incapable of catching anything faster than a rowing boat.

Most historians try to raise an image of want in the city and of penniless sailors wandering about. In actual fact there cannot have been much distress for the Legislature failed to make any provisions for unemployed mariners and there is no mention in the papers of any exodus of seamen to Canada. Private papers are equally devoid of comments on unemployment. In January 1808, only about twenty-five men could be found to go to see the governor, and these apparently left without grumbling after his refusal of aid.³⁸ Even historians who have made a study of the Embargo are apt to be led astray by failure to understand the normal maritime trade cycle. L. W. Jennings cites a statement from a newspaper that there were quite a number of vessels lying in Boston harbor, dismantled because of the Embargo.³⁹ In fact, at the first of the year the newspapers regularly list the numbers of vessels in each of the major ports and it was normal maritime practice that vessels laid up for the winter should be dismantled or have their masts capped with a barrel.

The Embargo came off in the spring of 1809, and once again the normal balance of foreign to coastal trade was re-established. Contrary to what happened elsewhere, Boston was able to re-enter the foreign trade with ships and men who had not rotted away for the past year or so.

NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF THIS ARTICLE

This article was originally an honor thesis done at Harvard University under the guidance of Professor R. G. Albion. It has since been completely redone and statistical material on ship movements for the period from 30 December 1806 to the end of March 1809 has been added. For these statistics the author has used throughout the *Columbian Centinel* of which a complete file for the period was obtained by supplementing the Harvard copies with the file at the Boston Athenaeum. Other sources are indicated in the footnotes.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 January 1806.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 23 January 1808.

³⁹ *The American Embargo, 1807-1810*, University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, VIII, No. 1, 223.

The author cannot claim that his statistics are 100 per cent accurate for the following reasons. In the first place, there are from time to time noticeable discrepancies in the reporting of ship movements in the *Centinel*. A vessel is sometimes reported in the offing, but the next issue of the paper will omit the fact that she docked. Secondly, there has been a certain confusion over names of places, both in the coasting trade (there are Bristols in Maine and Rhode Island) and in the foreign trade (where odd names are no longer listed in modern atlases). Otherwise, the author would suggest that his statistics are probably within three per cent of actuality for the foreign trade. The statistical problem of the coastal trade is noted in footnote number 8.

Some other problems of the sort encountered in the present research may be illustrated by the following cases. There were apparently two *Sukeys*, one arrived from Wilmington on 30 June 1807, while a brig with that name arrived on 13 July 1807, 46 days out from Liverpool with coal. Captain Rhoades then took this vessel to Amsterdam and back (21 August 1807-28 January 1808). The next recorded *Sukey* was a coaster setting out to Bath, Maine, on the last day in May 1808. Thereafter there is a fairly regular pattern in the coastal trade. The *Superb* also presents a problem. There was a brig under Lewis in the trade with Amsterdam. Then she sailed in October 1807 under Hemy for Leghorn, but her return is not recorded, at least before the end of March 1809. The ship *Superb* arrived from River Plate under Lombard in July 1807 and sailed again under Tracy in December. Then early in 1808 a coaster under Patterson sailed for Maine, sailed again in March for Penobscot, but was not recorded again until an arrival in December. It is probable that in this case there really were three vessels and that the coaster made more trips than were recorded in the *Centinel*.

The problem of tracing ship movements when the captain's name is not given every time, as it was not in 1808, may be illustrated by taking the popular name *Mary*, which was bestowed on something like 40 different vessels. Fourteen different captains commanded ships called *Mary* and nine of the *Marys* were brigs. Whereas most of the ships were engaged in trade with Europe, most of the brigs were in the West Indian run. Twelve schooners in the foreign trade bore the name *Mary* and divide their favors about equally between Canada and the West Indies, with the remainder going to and from the wine islands off Spain and the Mediterranean. Of the coasters of this name, eight traded with Maine, one with New Hampshire, three with Massachusetts, two with Connecticut, and seven apparently with points south, or engaged in longer coastal runs. The number of *Marys* was rivalled by the *Betsys*, *Pollys* and *Sallys*, and there were others almost as numerous.

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PORT OF BOSTON AND THE EMBARGO

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TOTAL MOVEMENTS BY VESSEL TYPES

Port of Boston, 1807-March, 1809

1807								1808								
M	S	B	S	S	F	C	I	S	B	S	S	F	C	I		
o	h	i	c	l	O	a	O	h	i	c	l	O	a	O		
n	i	i	h	o	R	a	I	i	i	h	o	R	a	I		
t	p	g	o	o	s	s	A	p	g	o	o	s	s	A		
h	s	s	o	p	I	t	L	s	s	o	p	T	t	L		
s			n	s	O	e				n	s	O	e			
			e		F	r				e		F	r			
			i		s					i		s				
Jan.	A	4	6	12	1	23	24	45	A	9	12	7	0	28	35	63
	D	12	22	15	1	50	21	71		0	0	3	0	1	31	35
Feb.	A	4	12	12	1	29	20	59	A	1	8	10	1	20	15	65
	D	3	15	10	0	28	9	37		0	0	1	0	1	29	30
Mar.	A	10	12	18	0	49	59	99	A	7	10	12	1	20	40	76
	D	6	15	12	0	33	28	61		1	2	0	0	3	32	35
Apr.	A	37	15	41	1	127	60	187	A	11	16	11	2	40	81	123
	D	11	5	13	0	29	11	70		0	2	0	0	2	54	50
May	A	9	18	51	0	101	52	173	A	6	9	6	0	21	108	129
	D	19	22	30	1	72	92	194		0	1	2	0	3	137	149
June	A	22	19	50	5	117	61	178	A	12	10	5	0	27	221	248
	D	12	19	50	1	82	70	172		0	0	1	0	1	133	134
July	A	19	25	25	5	71	62	136	A	6	9	16	1	32	176	208
	D	5	16	26	3	50	57	107		2	1	0	0	6	153	159
Aug.	A	5	37	31	1	77	44	121	A	6	6	16	1	29	134	191
	D	2	13	19	0	31	29	61		5	8	10	1	39	96	126
Sept.	A	53	52	49	2	156	39	186	A	6	3	15	1	25	117	172
	D	5	13	27	1	46	29	75		0	0	9	0	6	105	171
Oct.	A	18	23	25	2	68	46	114	A	5	7	6	1	19	89	108
	D	10	17	29	1	38	52	100		0	0	5	0	5	118	153
Nov.	A	11	20	25	0	59	46	102	A	1	8	12	2	23	109	132
	D	15	21	14	1	49	32	81		0	0	1	0	1	122	123
Dec.	A	6	22	11	0	39	32	71	A	6	10	14	0	30	80	110
	D	9	16	27	0	52	26	78		1	2	3	0	6	92	98
TOTAL ARRIVALS					997	535	1,142	TOTAL ARRIVALS					339	1,297	1,597	
TOTAL DEPARTURES					573	489	1,059	TOTAL DEPARTURES					71	1,192	1,263	

Source: Compiled from *Columbian Centinel*

TOTAL MOVEMENTS BY VESSEL TYPES

Port of Boston, 1807-March, 1809

First Quarter 1809

M	S	B	S	S	F	C	I
o	h	i	c	l	O	a	O
n	i	i	h	o	R	a	I
t	p	g	o	o	s	s	A
h	s	s	o	p	I	t	L
s			n	s	O	e	
			e		F	r	
			i		s		
Jan.	A	2	2		1	11	15
	D				1	39	41
Feb.	A	1	1		7	37	44
	D				0	20	20
Mar.	A	1	2		6	81	90
	D	7	16	20	43	59	102

Source: Compiled from *Columbian Centinel*

FOREIGN MOVEMENTS, Po

Area		January				February				1867 March				April				May				1867 June			
		Sh.	R.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sh.	R.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sh.	R.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sh.	R.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sh.	R.	Sch.	Sl.
Baltic	A					0					0					0					0				
	D					0					0					0					0				
Europe	A			1		1			1		1			1		1			1		1				
	D	5	9	2		16			7	1	8			5	9	5			19	1	6	5			
Great Britain	A					5			1		5			1		5			10		11				
	D					0			1		1			2		2			10		1				
Mediterranean	A			2		2			1		3			1		4			6		4				
	D			2		2			1		3			2		5			7		1				
Africa	A					2			1		3					3			4		2				
	D	2				2			1		3					3			4		2				
S. America	A					5			1		6					6			9		1				
	D					2			1		3			1		4			4		2				
West Indies	A			5		5			7		12			9		21			22		24				
	D	3	12	4		19			2		7			8		16			4		8				
Canada	A		2			2			2		4			1		5			5		11				
	D			5		5			2		7			3		10			8		11				
Totals	A	4	6	12		22	1		12		24	10		12		36	15		41	1	42	9		38	54
	D	12	22	15		59	5		15		29	5		15		35	11		29	10	22	20	1		72
1868																									
Baltic	A					1					1					0					0				
	D					0					0					0					0				
Europe	A					1			3		4			1		5			2		4				
	D					0					0			1		1			3		1				
Great Britain	A					2					2			1		3			11		2				
	D					1					1			2		3			0		1				
Mediterranean	A			2		2					2					2			2		4				
	D					0					0			1		1			0		1				
Africa	A					5					5					5			3		1				
	D					0					0					0			0		0				
S. America	A					1			1		2			2		4			1		2				
	D					0					0					0			0		0				
West Indies	A			5		5			1		6			10		16			15		2				
	D					1					1			1		2			1		1				
Canada	A					6					6			1		7			4		1				
	D					2					2			2		4			1		1				
Totals	A	9	12	7		28	1		2		10	1		10		26	11		16	11	6	9	6	0	24
	D	0	1	3		4	0		1		1	1		2		3	0		2	1	2	0	1	0	3

MOVEMENTS, PORT OF BOSTON 1807 1808

1807 June			July			August			1807 September			October			November			1807 December			YEAR TOTAL		
Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.	Sch.	Sl.	Tot.
		0			1			1			0			11			8			23			1
		0			0			0			0			0			0			0			0
3		12	2		1	5		12	2		7	2		11	6		9	10		25	2		3
8		15	3		3			8			1			6	1		1			2			1
1		20	6		2			8	2		3			5	23	19		1		32	9	2	2
2		4						0			2			2	1		1			0	1		1
3		7			1			4			1	2		1	2		1			7	1	1	3
5		11	1		1			5			0			0	3	1	1			2	4	5	2
		2	2		2			4			0			2	1		1			1	1	1	1
		6						0	1		1			1	1		1			0	1	1	1
1		1	2					2			2	1		1	1	2				1	1	1	1
1		1						0			0	1		1	1		1			2	1	1	1
20	1	51	5	11	15	1	22	13	1	10	5	20	11	30	2	5	8			15	1	8	10
19		27	1	7	8			10	1	6	6		6	1	18	1	7	3	1	12	5	6	10
10	1	21	1	2	3			8		1	11			18	1	1	18	2		18	1	3	4
15	1	18		3	15			18		1	11			12	3	20			25	1	2	1	1
59	5	117	19	25	25	5	71	5	37	39	1	77	53	132	19	2	156	18	21	35	2	68	11
50	1	82	5	10	20	3	50	2	13	19	0	31	5	13	27	1	16	10	17	20	1	48	13
1808									1808									1808					
		0			0			0			0			0			1			1			0
		0			0			0			0			0			1			0			0
2		1			0			0		2				2	1		1			1			0
		0			0			0			0			0			0			0			1
		2	1		1			2	2	3				5	1		1	2	2	4			2
		0			0			1			1			1			1			0			1
1		1			0			1			1	1		1	1		1			1			1
		8	1		1			2	3		3			0			0			1			1
		0			0			0			0			0			0	1		1			0
		0			0			0			0			0			0			0			1
		0			0			0			0			0			0			0			1
		10	1	9				15	1	1	6			6	1	2	3			9	2	5	2
		9	2	1				6	5	6	3			11			1			0			1
2		2			11	1	15	1	10	1	12			11	1	1	12			14			1
1		1			0			0			11			11			8			14			1
5	0	27	6	0	19	1	32	6	6	16	1	29	6	3	15	1	25	3	5	6	1	19	1
1	0	1	2	1	0	0	6	5	8	16	1	29	0	0	9	0	5	0	0	5	0	1	1

Source: Compiled from Customhouse Collection

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COASTAL MOVEMENTS, PORT OF BOSTON

1807

Area	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
A	1	1	1	4	5	5	9	5	5	3			39
D	4	1	3	5	11	1	4	6	3	3	2	4	47
A	5	1	5	6	4	6	9	4	6	7	7		57
D	6		3	5	21	12	10	6	4	11	9	4	91
A	8	12	10	5	11	14	6	7	9	14	7	7	110
D	2	3	3	7	20	17	8	8	6	13	6	4	97
A	2	3	11	14	14	10	15	4	3	5	6	3	99
D	2	2	3	8	17	10	11	4	3	11	5	3	88
A	1	1	4	2	2	9	6	2	2	6	4	1	43
D			5	5	8	10	4	2	6	5	2	2	49
A	2		2	3	2	2	1	3	2	1			19
D	1		1	5	6	2	3			2	2		22
A	2	1	5	2	4	6	5	2	1	3	6	2	39
D	1	1	3	3	3	5	1	1	6		2	3	32
A	2	1	5	8	2	1	9	8	3	3	8	2	55
D	1	1	1	2	4	2	4	1	1	3	1		20
A	3	7	7	18		9	8	5	1	3	4	5	68
D	5	1	6	1		5	5	1		3	2	5	34
A			1	2	7	1	1	1					15
D					2		1				1	1	5
A	22	30	50	60	52	61	62	44	36	40	46	32	535
D	21	9	28	41	92	70	77	29	29	52	32	26	486

1808

A	3	2	6	2	1	8	10	7	10	6	1		56
D	5	3	8	3	2	6	11	7	15	4	2	1	59
A	1	6	8	18	44	117	78	47	71	41	47	29	507
D	5	6	9	36	71	67	79	43	100	85	66	36	603
A	9	6	2	6	6	15	13	15	12	18	10	8	115
D	7	7	5	4	21	10	10	12	10	20	11	11	131
A	5	5	5	13	21	39	38	37	51	10	33	22	259
D	2	5	4	8	30	39	41	22	23	44	24	25	237
A	2	1	1	8	5	4	3	8	6	2	3	6	49
D	2	1			5	3	3	5	4	8	4	2	37
A	4	2	2	3	3	8	4	4	1	3	5	3	41
D		2	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	2	22
A	5	1	3	3	6	8	2	3	3	1	5	2	42
D	3	1	2			2	1	1	4	2	2	3	21
A	2	11	7	9	7	15	13	6	9	3	2	7	91
D	2	2	7		4	4	1	3	3	5	1	2	37
A	5	11	6	20	15	6	15	7	5	3	2	3	98
D	5	2		1	3	1	5	1	3	1	6	4	35
A				1	1			4	2			9	
D			2	1				1		2	1	3	10
A	15	15	10	81	108	221	176	131	147	89	109	80	1267
D	21	29	32	51	137	133	153	96	167	118	122	92	1162

Source: Compiled from *Columbian Centinel*

Documents

CAPTAIN JARED FISHER AND THE LOSS OF THE STEAMSHIP *Independence*

THE story in THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE in July 1954 on the 'Loss of the Steamship *Independence*' interested me because my great grandfather, Captain Jared Fisher of *Omega* took aboard a considerable number of the survivors of that wreck. I have a letter written by Captain Fisher to his wife regarding the incident and also a testimonial given to him by those people he took to San Francisco. Both documents are reproduced herewith.

Besides these I have a receipt dated 23 February 1853 signed by 'Purser Freeborn' for 'E. A. Sampson, late Master of *Independence*,' saying that Captain Jared Fisher had acquired *Independence* 'as she now lies' for 'one dollar 50/100' and 'one wooden quarter boat' for five dollars.

Letter
from
Captain Jared Fisher, Jr.
to his wife
Desire Allen Osborn Fisher

Magdalene Bay, Feb. 28/52

Dear Wife:

I take this opportunity to inform you of my health which is good.

I have now 1600 bbls of oil. Have taken 600 bbls this season.

I have to inform you of the loss of the Steamer *Independence* of San Francisco with 400 passengers on board, 130 lives were lost on the Island of Margarita. I have now 80 of the passengers on board who have been with me for 10 days, 6 ladies, one Mrs. Leeman lost her husband and 2 sons. I have one Mrs. Healy, Miss Conway, Mrs. Leeman, Mrs. Sullivan and one old lady that has lost her daughter. The passengers will all leave for San Francisco in 24 hours. I shall leave for S. Island in 10 days. I will write you more particularly. I have hardly room to move. Give my love to all my friends. Good night my dear and lovely wife

Your loving
Jared until death

Testimonial
given to
Captain Jared Fisher, Jr.
by the
80 Passengers

Whereas by the wrecking of the steamship *Independence* the 10th Feb'y on Margarita Island lower California and by timely assistance the passengers surviving said wreck have been rescued from its lone barren shore—therefore be it resolved on behalf of the passengers on board the ship *Omega* we tender to Capt. Jared Fisher our cordial thanks for the noble reception & generous hospitality we have experienced at his hands—that these expressions of our hearts are feeble but sincere testimonials of our gratitude and that we part with the best wishes and warmest desires for the health, happiness and prosperity of the Capt.—officers and crew of the ship *Omega*. Resolved that in behalf of the Ladies aboard the ship *Omega* we offer to Capt. Jared Fisher their grateful acknowledgements for furnishing them a temporary home upon the deep and for making their situation as agreeable, comfortable, & happy as under present circumstances the heart could desire that if the opportunity for reciprocating these manifold acts of kindness should never occur, it is their fondest hope that his life may long be spared to adore his family, and that the latter end of his existence on earth may be as serene and heavenly as his present life is manly and humane.

Resolved that to Mr. Clark & the seamen under his command most welcome pioneers in furnishing water to the thirsty bread to the hungry hope to the desponding and safety to all, we are under lasting obligations, that as long as memory retains its seat in our frail bodies we shall hold their giant hearts and generous souls in grateful remembrances that the scenes of their lives may be as grand ennobling and pacific as the ocean they are now on and that when the winds and storms of life are over they may anchor peacefully and securely in the haven of rest.

Contributed by E. Jared Bliss, Jr.

NON-UNION SEAMEN 1830

The following 'articles of agreement' was copied from an original document and except for the list of the officers' and crew's names, is copied verbatim. The schooner *Maria*, was built in Thomaston, Maine, in 1827 and was of 133 tons. No further history of this vessel was found.

It is agreed between the Master, Seamen or Mariners of the Schooner *Maria* of Thomaston, Israel Snow, Master, now in the Port of Thomaston and bound for Pensacola and from thence back to this port. . . The unsigned shall stay by the vessel and assist in discharging the cargo at her destined port and assist to load her again and bring the vessel back to her port and make her fast to the dock.

That in consideration of the monthly or other wages against each respective seaman or mariner's name hereunder set, they severally shall and will perform the above mentioned voyage; and the said master doth hereby agree with and hire the said seamen or mariners for the said voyage, at such monthly wages or prices, to be paid pursuant to this agreement and the laws of the Congress of the United States, and the custom and usage of the port of THOMASTON and they the said seamen or mariners do hereby promise and oblige themselves to do their duty, and obey the lawful commands of their officers on board the said vessel, or the boats hereunto belonging, as becomes good and faithful seamen or mariners; & at all places where the said vessel shall put in or anchor at, during the said voyage, to do their best endeavors for the preservation of the said vessel and cargo, and not to neglect or refuse doing their duty by day or night, nor shall go out of the said vessel on board any other vessel, or be on shore under any pretence whatsoever, until the above said voyage be ended, and the vessel discharged of her loading, without leave first obtained of the captain or commanding officer on board, that in default thereof, they will be liable to all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the marine law, enacted for the government and regulation of seamen in the merchant service, in which it is enacted.

That if any seaman or mariner shall absent himself from on board the ship or vessel without leave of the master or officer commanding on board; and the mate or other officer having charge of the logbook, shall make an entry therein, of the name of such seaman or mariner, on the day he shall so absent himself; and if such seaman or mariner shall return to his duty within forty-eight hours, such seaman or mariner shall forfeit three days' pay, for every day which he shall so absent himself, to be deducted out of his wages; but if any seaman or mariner shall absent himself for more than forty-eight hours at one time, he shall forfeit all the wages due to him and all his goods and chattels which were on board the said ship or vessel, or in any store where they may have been lodged, at the time of his desertion, to the use of the owners of the ship or vessel; and moreover shall be liable to pay to him or them, all damages which he or they sustain by being obliged to hire other seamen or mariners in his or their place. And it is further agreed by both

parties, that each and every lawful command which the said master shall think necessary hereafter to issue for the effectual government of the said vessel, suppressing immorality and vice of all kinds, be strictly complied with, under the penalty of the person or persons disobeying, forfeiting his or their whole wages or hire, together with every thing belonging to him or them, on board the said vessel.

And it is hereby understood and mutually agreed by and between the parties aforesaid, that they will render themselves on board the said *SCHOONER* on or before the 12th. day of May 1830. And it is further agreed on, that no officer or seaman belonging to the said vessel, shall demand or be entitled to his wages or any part thereof until the arrival of the said vessel at the above mentioned port of discharge and her cargo delivered. And it is hereby further agreed between the master and officers of the said vessel, that whatever apparel, furniture and stores each of them may receive into their charge belonging to the said vessel, shall be accounted for on her return. And in case of any thing shall be lost or damaged, through their carelessness or insufficiency, it shall be made good by such officers or seamen, by whose means it may happen, to the master and owners of the said vessel. And whereas it is customary for the officers and seamen, on the vessels return home, in the harbor and whilst her cargo is delivering, to go on shore each night to sleep, greatly to the prejudice of such vessel and freighters; be it further agreed by the said parties that neither officer nor seamen shall, on any pretence whatsoever, be intitled to such indulgence but shall do their duty in the discharge of the cargo and keep such watch by night as the master shall think necessary to order for the preservation of the above. And whereas it often happens that part of the cargo is embezzled after being safely delivered into the lighters; and as such losses are made good by the owners of the vessel; Be it therefore agreed by these presents that whatever officer or seaman the master shall think proper to appoint, shall take charge of the cargo in the lighters, and go with it to the lawful quay, and deliver his charge to the vessel's husband or his representative or see the same safely landed. That each seaman or mariner who shall well and truly perform the above mentioned voyage, provided always that there be no plundering, embezzlement or other unlawful acts committed on the said vessel's cargo or stores, shall be entitled to the payment of the wages or hire, that may become due him, pursuant to this agreement as to their names is severally affixed and set forth. Provided, nevertheless, that if any of the said crew disobey the orders of the said master or other officer of the said vessel, or absent himself at any time without liberty, his wages due at the time of such disobedience or absence, shall be forfeited; and in case such person or

persons so forfeiting wages shall be reinstated or permitted to do further duty, it shall not do away such forfeiture.

And it is also expressly agreed and understood by and between the parties hereto that they shall render themselves on board said vessel sober and fit for duty. No sheath knives and no profane language permitted on board and no grog allowed and none to be brought on board by the crew.

That for the due performance of each and every of the above mentioned articles and agreement, and acknowledgement of their being voluntary, and without compulsion, or any other clandestine means being used, agreed to and signed by us; in testimony whereof, we have each and every one of us affixed our Hands, the month and day against our names as here under written.

Contributed by E. Lee Dorsett, M.D.

'SAILORS ON HORSE BACK'

[AMERICAN STATE PAPERS. Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States. Commencing 13 May 1824 and ending 5 January 1837. Vol. II. Naval Affairs.]

On claim of a Sailingmaster of the Navy, in Commodore Barney's Flotilla Service, for the value of a horse killed in the Battle of Blandensburg, and for clothing lost in the service. Communication to the Senate February 9, 1826.

Mr. Hayne, from the Committee of Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of John A. Webster, late Sailingmaster in the Navy, praying indemnity for property lost while in discharge of his duty, reported:—

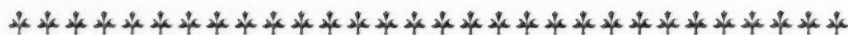
That it appears that John A. Webster was a Sailingmaster and attached to the flotilla under Commodore Barney during the late War [1812]. That when the City of Washington was threatened by the Enemy, Commodore Barney caused the flotilla to be destroyed, and with the force under his command joined the Army near Washington, and rendered essential services at the Battle of Blandensburg. It further appears that the petitioner received orders from his commander to join him near Blandensburg, and that to effect this object in due season he mounted a horse and rode the whole night through, and arrived the next morning at the battle ground in time to take part in the ac-

tion. In consequence of his fatigue, the petitioner was permitted to remain on horseback and during the action his horse was killed, and he himself narrowly escaped the same fate.

Under these circumstances the Committee are of the opinion that the petitioner has a just claim on the United States for the value of his horse and accoutrements. With respect to the claims for clothing lost by the destruction of the flotilla, and for the expenses of medical attendance, no proof having been adduced in support of them, the Committee deem it unnecessary to state the objections which exist against such claims. In pursuance of these views the Committee herewith report a bill for the relief of John A. Webster.

In the biography of Commodore Joshua Barney by Ralph Paine it is interesting to learn some of the true facts concerned in the above settlement of the claim of Sailingmaster John A. Webster. Point one: 'when the city of Washington was threatened.' The city of Washington was entered by the British and several public buildings were burned. Point two: 'render essential service.' The sailors under Commodore Barney stood their ground while the Army under the command General Winder threw away their arms and were completely routed. President Madison's record during this time was rather tarnished. Point three: 'for clothing lost by the destruction of the flotilla.' All of Barney's seamen lost all of their clothing and personal belongings and Congress was asked by Commodore Barney to pay these men but his appeal was turned down. Point four: 'the Committee deem it unnecessary to state the objections which exist against such claims.' The Congress were partly to blame for some of the mistakes that were made in the attempt to defend Washington and were only too glad to try and cover up this fiasco.

Contributed by E. Lee Dorsett, M.D.



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BY ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION

THESE bibliographies are designed to include all pertinent books and articles in English, except for articles in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE* itself. In addition to 'pure' maritime history, they include current subjects which seem likely to be of value to the future historian, and they also reflect an interpretation of 'maritime' in the broadest sense, in order to be of service to those who may wish to extend their searches beyond the conventional fields.

For convenience, the sections on Merchant Steam and Seaports and Coastal Areas have been divided into two sections, 'North America and General' and 'Other Regions,' following the earlier example of the Merchant Sail and Naval to 1939 sections. The basic numbering of the sections, however, has not been changed.

Abbreviations: *BuShips*, *Bureau of Ships Journal*; *D&HA*, *Dock and Harbour Authority*; *MCF*, *Maine Coast Fisherman*; *ME&L*, *Marine Engineering and Log*; *RUSI*, *Journal of the Royal United Service Institute*; *S&S*, *Ships and the Sea*; *S&SR*, *Shipbuilding and Shipping Record*; *SBF*, *Steamboat Bill of Facts*; *USNIP*, *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*.

All dates 1956 unless otherwise noted.

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- WALLIS, H. M., *The Exploration of the South Sea, 1519 to 1644. A Study of the Influence of Physical Factors, with a Reconstruction of the Routes of the Explorers*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1955.
- WOOLF, HARRY, *The Transits of Venus; a Study in the Organization and Practice of Eighteenth-century Science*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell, 1955. This was, of course, the *raison d'être* for Cook's first voyage.

III. Merchant Sail and General Shipping—North America

- BARTLETT, H. H., see Sect. XV.
- BENSON, E. M., The Promised Land, 5 pp. *Down East*, Sept. 1955. 140 Maine residents, under the influence of a charlatan preacher, sailed from Jonesport in 1866 in the bark 'Nellie Chapin' to establish a short-lived colony at Jaffa in Palestine.
- BURGESS, R. H., A Sailing Ship's Transatlantic Record, *Baltimore Sunday Sun Mag.*, 15 March. Record passage of Baltimore medium clipper 'Mary Whitridge' in 1855.
- CATHER, THOMAS, *Thomas Cather's Journal of a Voyage to America in 1836*, 48 pp. \$1.25. Emmaus, Pa., Rodale Press, 1955.
- DICKINSON, W. R., Diary of a Sea Captain: Maiden Voyage of the 'Aryan' Around the Horn, 6 pp. *Down East*, Nov.-Jan. Extracts from captain's diary on voyage to San Francisco in 'the last wooden square-rigger built in the United States,' launched at Phippsburg Center, Maine, Aug. 1893.
- DRYDEN, C. P., *By Sea on the Tonquin*, 289 pp. \$4.50. Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton. Fictional account of pioneer voyage of Astor's fur company to Oregon.
- FORD, HOBART, Barometer Had the Shakes but World's Best Cook Carried On. *MCF*, March. Schooner 'Jane Dore,' built in East Boothbay in 1922 as yacht, later serving with Coast Guard and now

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- fishing out of Stonington, Conn., rode out 1938 hurricane with Dan Morrison, 'the world's greatest sea cook,' aboard.
- GOULD, J. W., *American Interests in Sumatra, 1784 to 1873*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Fletcher, 1955. Challenges some of the traditional Salem accounts.
- GREEN, F. C., *Last of the Ellsworth Fleet*, 4 pp. *Down East*, Aug. 1955. Two-masted coasting schooner 'Lavolta,' launched at Ellsworth around 1880, one of the 300 Ellsworth sailing vessels.
- LUCAS, H. S., comp., *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and related Writings*, 2 vols., 514, 479 pp. \$15.00. Seattle, Univ. of Washington Press. Accounts since 1846 in Dutch, followed by English translation.
- MACDONALD, GRANT, Jack London Ship Legend Debunked. *Los Angeles Times*, 20 Nov. 1955, 1, 36. The author's ketch 'Snark' was wrecked and burned in the Solomons, despite rumors that her rotting remains were in the West Basin at Los Angeles, filled in to expand Todd shipyard.
- PINE, J. C., *United States Special Agents and their Role in the Development of the Spanish American Policy of the United States, 1810-1822*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Colorado, 1955.
- PRELTY, E. W., *The Saga of the 'Flyaway'*, 32 pp. New York, The Author, 1955. Account of Webb-built clipper, 1853-1881, first commanded by the author's great uncle.
- QUINN, D. B., ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1581-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 2nd Series, No. 104), 2 vols. 496, 508 pp. £6 to non members. Cambridge Univ. Press for the Society; \$22.50. New York, Cambridge Univ. Press.
- SPENCER, FRANK, ed., *An Eighteenth Century Account of German Emigration to the American Colonies*, 5 pp. *Jour. Modern History*, March. Memorandum by Richard Wolters, 'His Majesty's Agent at Rotterdam' in 1764, commenting vigorously on unsatisfactory conditions aboard ship.
- VILLIERS, ALAN, *Sailing Eagle*, 192 pp. \$3.95. New York, Scribners. 200 pictures of U. S. Coast Guard training bark on cruise.
- WEINBERGER, B. J., William Phips and the Big Jackpot, 4 pp. *American Heritage*, April. Fortune from discovery of sunken Spanish treasure ship off Hispaniola in 1687, leading to knighthood and commanding position in New England.
- WRIGHT, P. M., Salt Water Saga, 4 pp. *The Bermudian*, April. Bermuda sailing vessels of the Trimmingham family since seventeenth century.

IV. Merchant Sail and General Shipping—Other Regions

- ANDREWS, J. H., *Geographical Aspects of the Maritime Trade of Kent and Sussex, 1650-1750*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, London, 1955.
- BALDWIN, H. W., Death of a Square Rigger, 3 pp. *Pageant*, April. Loss of 'Garthpool' in 1929 on shoals in the Cape Verdes.
- BUENGER, L. R., *Genoese Enterprisers, 1186-1211*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Wisconsin, 1955.
- (CASTLE & COOKE, LTD.), *The First 100 Years: A Report on the Operations of Castle & Cooke for the Years 1851-1951*. Honolulu. The Company, 1951. Missionaries, arriving in 1837, formed partnership in 1851, with tremendous success in sugar, etc. See also Chickering and Smith below.
- CHICKERING, W. H., *Within the Sound of these Waves: The Story of Old Hawaii*, 327 pp. \$5.00. New York, Harcourt, Brace.
- DUNBARIN, THOMAS, Seven Years upon the Snares, 2 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Four seamen on London schooner marooned on lonely rocks in Australian waters in 1810; three survivors rescued in 1817.
- EADIE, FORBES, The 'Marlborough' Mystery, 7 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. Full-rigged iron ship of Shaw, Savill & Albion Line to New Zealand, one of the fastest on that run, sailed from Littleton 11 Jan. 1890 for London with frozen mutton and 'went missing.' Author debunks story of her wreck having been found in the Cape Horn region.
- ENGLAND, RICHARD, Dock Road, 11 pp. *Sea Breezes*, April. Reminiscences of the British coastal trade.
- FRISE, H. H., see Sect. XIV.
- GOODMAN, G. K., *The Dutch Impact on Japan (1640-1853)*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Michigan, 1955.
- GORDON, N. M., *Anglo-German Trade Relations, 1841-1854*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1955.
- HAMILTON, GENASTA, see Sect. II.
- HEATON, PETER, *Yachting: a History*, 253. London, Botsford.
- HILL, H. O., The Isles of Scilly Gigs, 4 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May.

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- JONES, SIR CLEMENT, ed., *'Chief Officer in China, 1840-1853.'* 125 6d. Liverpool, Birchall. Letters dealing with shipping and commerce in the Far East.
- JONES, G. N., *Homeward, Round the Horn*, 11 pp. *Sea Breezes*, March. Out in bark 'Falls of Halladale' in 1903, returning in 'Ladye Doris.'
- MARCUS, G. J., *Ocean Navigation of the Middle Ages: Northern Waters*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1955.
- MCCRATH, PATRICK, see Sect. VIIIb.
- MORWOOD, J., ed., *Outriggers*, 26 pp. 2s 6d. Folkestone, Kent, The Editor, 123 Cheriton Road. Includes 22 illustrations.
- MUIR, JOHN, *Levant Schooners and Arab Sailors*, 7 pp. *Blackwoods*, April.
- O'BRIEN, R. B., *The Unlucky 'Loch Vennacher.'* *Rudder*, March. Experiences of full-rigged iron ship built at Glasgow in 1875 for Loch Line; dismantled in 1892; sunk in collision in 1901 but raised; and finally wrecked on reef in 1905 en route to Adelaide, with loss of all hands.
- RUTZBACK, HJALMAR, *Mad Sea: the Life and Loves of a Windjammer Sailor*, 284 pp. \$3.75. New York, Greenberg. Lively memoirs of a decade at sea around 1900.
- SMITH, BRADFORD, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 376 pp. \$5.00. Philadelphia, Lippincott. See also Castle & Cooke and Chickering above, and Morgan, XII, 74, and Stevens, XII, 75.
- THATCHER, DOROTHY, *Lancaster of the East Indies 1592 and 1600*, 3 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Pioneer English reconnaissance into Portuguese eastern waters.
- THIESIGER, WILFRED, *Lovely Antique Craft of the Persian Gulf: Types of Arab Dhows*, 2 pp. *Ill. London News*, 4 Feb. Photographs with brief comments; same issue includes his large photograph of a primitive Euphrates 'zanna' canoe.
- THORNTON, A. P., see Sect. XI.
- VILLIERS, ALAN, *Still Room for Sail*, 4 pp. *S&S*, Summer. A typical Villiers summary of surviving sailing vessels.
- (WATT, RICHARD), *Second Cabin Passage*, 7 pp. *Sea Breezes*, March. Journal of a passage in Baines Black Ball line clipper 'Young Australia' (originally 'Red Rover' built at Portsmouth, N. H., in 1852) from London to Australia. To be continued.

V. Fishing and Whaling

- BURGESS, R. H., *The Sailing Fleet Sails On. The Skipper*, March. Maryland's oyster dredging fleet of sailing craft.
- COCHRANE, A. L., *Changing Trends in the Design and Equipment of Trawlers*, 3 pp. *Fishing News*, 23 March. Also A. C. Hardy, 'Whither Trawler Design?' 2 pp. *Ibid.*, 16 March.
- CONTE, ANITA, *Deep Sea Saga*, 182 pp. 16s. London, Kimber, 1955. A woman's experiences aboard a trawler in Labrador, Greenland and Newfoundland waters; includes fishing glossary.
- DORSETT, E. L., *The Maine Whalers*, 3 pp. *Down East*, April. 'Wiscasset,' 1834-37 and 'Science,' 1834-41, the only two whalers operating out of Maine; also the auxiliary steam whaler 'Mary and Helen,' built at Bath for New Bedford. Same issue includes articles on 'The Whale Chase' and 'Whale Oil Lamps.'
- The Herring War*, 1 p. *Newsweek*, 13 Feb. Norwegian PT boats seize 16 Soviet trawlers poaching in Norwegian waters.
- LEITCH, ADLAIDE, *The Sign of the Fish*, 3 pp. *Can. Geog. Jour.*, Feb. The drying stages or 'flakes' of the Newfoundland coast.
- MORGAN, ROBERT, *World Sea Fisheries*, 30s. London, Methuen.
- MUNSTERBERG, MARGARET, *The Journal of a Whaling Voyage*, 5 pp. *Boston Public Library Jour.*, July 1955.
- ONASSIS and the Whale, 2 pp. *S&SR*, 19 April. Charges against the Greek shipowner's 'Olympic Challenger' fleet by the Norwegian Whaling Assn.
- 'Pioneer' Makes History, *Fishing News*, 20 Jan. 'First of 20 trawlers built in Britain for USSR handed over at Lowestoft.'
- (RHODES, W. B.), *The Whaling Journal of Captain W. B. Rhodes, 1836-1838: In the Barque 'Australian' of Sydney*; Introduction and Notes by C. R. Straubel, 123 pp. 18s 6d. Christchurch, N. Z., Whitcomb & Tombs, 1954.
- SANDERSON, I. T., *Follow the Whale*, 445 pp. \$6.00. Boston, Little, Brown. Comprehensive survey of whales and whaling from the earliest times.

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- SCOFIELD, J. L., *California Fishing Ports* (Cal. Dept. of Fish & Game, Fish Bulletin No. 96), 159 pp., c. \$1.00. Sacramento, The Dept., 1954. Description and brief histories of 270 coast localities.
- SLIWOWSKI, C. Z., How Soviet Fisheries have Expanded, 1 p. *Fishing News*, 24 Feb.
- SVERDUP, H. O., Norway's Aid to India, 8 pp. *Am. Scandinavian Rev.*, March. Help in modernizing the ancient fisheries.
- SZCZEPANIK, EDWARD, Economic Analysis of Fishing in the Far East, 6 pp. *Economic Rev.*, Dec. 1955.
- WATERMAN, T. T., *The Whaling Equipment of the Makah Indians*, 67 pp., paper, \$1.25. Seattle, Univ. of Washington Press, 1955. Facsimile reprint of a study first published in 1920 in the first volume of the Univ. of Washington Pubs. in Anthropology.
- WOODING, F. H., The Gallery of Canadian Fishes, 14 pp. *Can. Geog. Jour.*, March. Royal Ontario Museum's new Gallery of Canadian Fishes, including models and description of various types of fishing boats.
- U. S. FISH & WILDLIFE SERVICE, see Sect. XV.
- YOUNG, W. E., *Shark Hunter*, 192 pp., 2s. London, Hamilton, Staff.
- YOUNGER, R. R., Fishing for a Living, 9 pp. *New Jersey Outdoors*, July 1955.

Via. Merchant Steam, North American and General

- BUCK, S. E., *The Ship: How She Works*, 71 pp. \$1.90. Southampton, Adlard Coles; New York, De Graff.
- BRADLEY, F. B. C., Old American Coasting and Sound Steamers, 4 pp. *International Marine Engineering* (now *Marine Engineering & Logg.*), 1912. Reprint distributed with *SBF*, March as gift of the New England Chapter of the Steamship Hist. Soc.
- BROSS, S. R., *Ocean Shipping*, 224 pp. \$7.00. Cambridge, Md., Cornell Maritime Press.
- COLLINS, J. J., USNR, The American Marine and World War III, 9 pp. *UNIP*, April.
- DALLETT, F. J., JR., La Línea 'D' roja, *El Farol* (Carole Petroleum Corp., Caracas), Feb.
- Pasajeros venezolanos de hace una centuria. *Reflejos* (Caracas), Aug. 1955. While writings in foreign languages are not normally included in these lists, the above articles are from a study, in progress at the University of Pennsylvania in English, of the old 'Red D' Line, operated by the author's ancestors.
- Double Duty Goliath for Oil or Ore, 3 pp. *MES-L*, April. Sinclair's new 56,500 DWT 'Petrolore', a major effort to overcome the unsatisfactory one way aspect of the tanker trade.
- FANNING, L. M., Robert Fulton, Father of Modern Marine Transportation (Fathers of Industries Series), 10 pp. Westport, Conn., The Author.
- FOWLER, BARNETT, The Old Sawmill, 4 pp. *Yankee*, April 1955. The steamboat 'Vermont' of 1809.
- GIBBS, J. A., JR., Race that Tugboat! 4 pp. *S&S*, Summer. Annual Puget Sound sporting event.
- GRAHAM, R. L., The Lynn Steamboat Company, 1 p. *SBF*, March. Small passenger boats from Lynn, Mass., to nearby Nahant, 1893-1909.
- GROH, LYNN, Pleasure is their Business, 4 pp. *S&S*, Summer. History and description of the 71 year old Wilson Excursion Line, formerly the Wilson Line.
- GROSSMAN, WILLIAM, *Ocean Carrier Rates and Charges*, 224 pp. \$6.00. Cambridge, Md., Cornell Maritime Press.
- HARDY, A. C., *The History of Motor Shipping*, 500 pp. 42s. London, Whitehall Technical Press, 9 Catherine Pl., SW.
- HEYL, ERIK, *Early American Steamers*, Vol. II, c. 300 pp. \$8.00 (loose leaf, \$7.50; special ring binder, \$11.00). Buffalo, 14, The Author, 136 West Oakwood Pl. 'About two thirds are steamboats of the Great Lakes, Hudson River and Long Island Sound, while one-third are steamers of Lake Champlain, Chesapeake Bay, Delaware River, Maine coast, etc., in service c. 1808-1845. See XIII, 288.
- HORNBERGER, F. W., Fifty Years of Motorboating, 21 pp. *Motor Boating*, Dec. 1955-March 1956.
- HOSKINS, E. A., West Coast Tankers, 11 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. Detailed experiences in California tankers, 1922-24. 'All the West Coast oil companies were good firms to work for.'
- JACH, HINZ, *American Foreign Trade and Domestic Industrial Organization*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia, 1955.
- KENDALL, L. S., USMS, USMCR, Experience and Judgment are Basic for Good Steamship Schedule, 5 pp. *Marine News*, April. Analysis of complex factors entering into line and tanker scheduling, by member of King's Point faculty.
- LAWRENCE, W. R., Pre-Insurance Cargo Survey, 4 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, March. 'The correct stowage

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- and packing of export cargo is probably the most important part of an export shipment.'
- LEE, IVY, & ROSS, T. J., *Memorandum on Public Relations for the Government-Aided American Shipping Lines*, 48 pp. New York, The Authors, 1952. Includes 9-page bibliography.
- MELLIS, G. M., *The Mississippi Shipping Company: a Case Study in the Development of Gulf Coast-South American and West African Shipping, 1919-1953*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Pittsburgh, 1955. Whereas most of the big British steamship companies have full-dress histories, this is one of the first for the modern American merchant marine. This service is popularly known as the Delta Line.
- MITCHELL, C. B., *Steamboat Renaissance*, 3 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, April. Launching of 'Nantucket,' for service to that island, at Camden, N. J., on 23 March 1956; includes brief summary of American steamboat background.
- MORAN, E. F., *Memories of Pioneer Days of Oil Transportation*, 2 pp. *Towline* (Moran), Feb. The association of Moran and Standard dates from the 1870's, even before the Standard Oil Lightering Dept. went into operation on 3 Oct. 1884.
- RICHTER, A. H., *Truck Ships Spur Coastwise Trade*, *N. Y. Times*, 18 March, 1, 124. Ambitious plan for vessels to carry trailers, etc., in coastwise and intercoastal trade, to cut stevedoring costs and turnaround.
- ROBARUGH, J. H., *The Fitch Model Steam Engine*, *The Museum* (Ohio Hist. Soc.), Jan. 1955.
- SANDS, F. P., *Grace Line's New Fleet*, 4 pp. *Grace Log*, March-April. \$286,000,000 replacement program for its present 26-ship fleet, with brief sketch of line's history.
- SCOTT, M. A., *I Ran Away to Sea*, 5 pp. *Motor Boating*, March. Coastal trip aboard freighter 'Antinous.'
- A Ship's Violent End*, 3 pp. *Life*, 26 March. Rescue of crew and passengers of 'Washington Mail' which sank after her bow broke off in North Pacific gale, 3 March.
- Trade Route No. 2*, 6 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, March. The Grace Line's 'Essential Trade Route No. 2' from east coast United States to west coast South America, with brief history of Grace shipping.
- Trade Route No. 28*, 9 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, April. United States to Indonesia, Malaya, India, Ceylon and into the Red Sea, served by four American flag lines, each going into the area from a different direction—American President and American Mail with operational subsidies, also Isthmian and Isbrandtsen.
- TITTLE, D. D., see Sect. XIV.
- Two Yard-Built Passenger Vessels from the Past*, *Shipyard Bulletin* (Newport News), Nov.-Dec. 1955. Plant liner 'La Grande Duchesse,' 1896; and Pacific Mail liner 'Korea,' 1902, built at Newport News.
- Waterborne Trade Highest in History*, 4 pp. *Marine Engineering*, Feb.
- WHITNEY, RALPH, *An Elderly Playgirl Retires*, 2 pp. *S&S*, Summer. Originally Ward Line 'Mexico,' 1906-29; Alaska Steamship Co. 'Aleutian,' 1929-53; finally, after labor troubles on west coast, Caribbean-Atlantic 'Tradewind.'
- WILSON, D. A., *An Analysis of Lumber Exports from the Coast Region of British Columbia to the United Kingdom and United States, 1920-1952*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley, 1955.

VIIb. Merchant Steam, Other Regions

- A. M. G., pseud., *Slow Boat to Burma*, 15 pp. *Blackwoods*, March. Trip from Rotterdam to Rangoon in American-built Norwegian freighter.
- ADAM, M., *Compagnie de Navigation Paquet*, 18 pp. *Sea Breezes*, March. First of the author's series of articles on major French shipping companies; includes detailed 'Fleet List' of vessels, 1863-1953.
- (ANDERSON, A. I.), *Taxation and 'Flags of Convenience'*, 1 p. *S&SR*, 2 Feb. Fiscal advantages of registry under the flags of Panama, Liberia, etc.
- BERRY, F. K., *McQueen of the Royal Mail*, 3 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. James McQueen, who promoted the idea of government mail subsidies and became general superintendent of the new RMSP in 1839.
- The Big N*, 2 pp. *Time*, 13 Feb. Brief history and survey of the Niarchos shipping achievements.
- BROOKS, EWART, *Turmoil*, 180 pp. 12s 6d. London, Jarrolds. Account of Capt. Parker and the salvage tug 'Turmoil' with its rugged experiences in the Western Approaches, including the much-publicized attempted salvage of 'Flying Enterprise.'

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- (DAVENPORT, H. M.), Liverpool to New York in 1902, 4 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. Letters written during voyage on the Cunarder 'Lucania.'
- DE VRIES, W. L., Dutch Shipping, 3 pp. *Marine News*, Dec.
- GRATTIDGE, HARRY, as told to Richard Collier, *Captain of the Queens: The Autobiography of Captain Harry Grattidge, former Commodore of the Cunard Line*, 313 pp. \$4.50. New York, Dutton. Career from apprenticeship at 15 on 4-masted bark to command of 'Queen Elizabeth.' Much detail on eating, etc. with VIP's traveling on his crack ships.
- HOBBLING, A. A. & MARY, *The Last Voyage of the Lusitania*, 255 pp. \$3.75. New York, Holt. Events centering around her being torpedoed on 7 May 1915 with loss of 1,198 lives; a sort of companion work to Walter Lord's best-seller *A Night to Remember* dealing with the loss of another great liner three years earlier.
- ISHERWOOD, J. H., The Great 'Olympic,' 9 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. Sister ship of the ill fated 'Titanic,' 1911-35.
- , Cunard Liner 'Serbia,' 4 pp. *Ibid.*, March. 1884-1901.
- , German Liner 'Spree,' 4 pp. *Ibid.*, April. Norddeutscher Lloyd, 1890; rebuilt in 1899 as 'Kaiserin Maria Theresa'; then, as Russian auxiliary cruiser 'Ural,' sunk at Tsushima in 1905. All in his 'Steamers of the Past' series.
- LARKIN, W. N., The Swiss Merchant Navy on the High Seas, 6 pp. *USNIP*, April. Includes 15 ship pictures with brief comments.
- The Italian Merchant Navy: Recovery and Improvement of the Fleet, resulting from increased activity at the shipyards, 4 pp. *Italian Affairs*, Jan.
- Liberia Waives the Rules, *Economist*, 24 Dec. 1955. See also Anderson above.
- SCOTT, R. J., Acorn to Oak, 12 pp. *Sea Breezes*, April. History of I. S. L. (Irish Shipping, Ltd.) starting with 13 second-hand steamers during World War II.
- WILLIS, COHN, Story of the Palm Line, 13 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. The fleet of the United Africa Co., between northwest Europe and west Africa, adapted from Unilever *Progress*.

VII. Inland Navigation

- ANDERSON, ROBERT, Cargo Carriers, Inc., 3 pp. *Lykes Fleet Flashes*, Feb. Mississippi barge line, subsidiary of Cargill, Inc., with 'home port' at Savage, Minn.
- Arrow Transportation Company, 3 pp. *Ibid.*, May. The 'oldest common carrier barge service on the Mississippi River system,' dating back to 1909.
- ANGLSON, E. R., see Sect. IX.
- Commerce on the Inland Waterways is Increasing, 1 p. S-S, Summer. Table of tonnage on 64 American waterways in 1954 carrying more than a million tons each, headed by Detroit River at 102 million tons; list includes numerous coastal waterways including such as Cape Cod Canal at 12.9 million and Chesapeake-Delaware Canal at 8.8.
- CRANMER, H. J., *The New Jersey Canals: State Policy and Private Enterprise, 1820-1832*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia, 1955.
- DUNCAN, FRANCIS, *The History of the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, 1850-1951*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1955. Has appeared serially in *Inland Seas*, XII, 244.
- The East African Inland Marine Services: an Integrated Lake and Railway System, 3 pp. *DEHA*, Jan. Reprinted from the *East African Railways & Harbours Mag.*, June 1955.
- FORD, V. C. R., *The Trade of Lake Victoria* (East African Studies, No. 3), 66 pp. 11s. Nairobi, East Africa Literature Bureau, 1955.
- HEYL, ERIC, The Steamboat 'Midwaikie,' 1827-1842, 4 pp. *Inland Seas*, Spring. Also see Sect. VI.
- Inland Empire: Detroit on the Sea, 3 pp. *Newsweek*, 12 March. Port problems at Detroit and other Great Lakes cities created by the St. Lawrence Seaway project.
- JONES, H. P., The Rhone and the Future, 11 pp. *Geog. Mag.*, March.
- JUNKIN, G. W., Steamboats are *not* Showboats, 2 pp. S-S, Summer. 'In reality, showboats were theaters in barges.'
- LEGG, ROBERT, *Rideau Waterway*, \$5.00. Univ. of Toronto Press. The 'silver chain of rivers and lakes, linked by small locks and winding channels' from Ottawa to Kingston, built as an alternative to the St. Lawrence route under the threat of possible war.
- LYONS, S. A., The 'J. H. Sheadle' in the Great Storm of 1913, *Inland Seas*, Spring. Report of the captain to the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co.

- POTTER, C. E., Port of Muskegon. *Marine News*, April. South shore of Lake Michigan.
- RAPP, M. A., John Maynard—Lake Erie Hero, 13 pp. *Inland Seas*, Spring. Literary change of name of Luther Fuller, pilot of steamer 'Erie,' burned on Lake Erie 9 Aug. 1841, with loss of 250 of the 300 aboard.
- RIVET, FELIX, tr. from the French by D. S. Landes, American Technique and Steam Navigation on the Saône and the Rhone, 1827-1850, 16 pp. *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, March. It 'summarizes one part of a large work now in preparation, based above all on French and non-French archival documents.'
- St. Lawrence Seaway: Trade Route 32, 5 pp. *Marine News*, April.
- SISK, G. N., Steamboat Days in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917, 4 pp. *SBF*, March.
- SNIDER, C. H. J., Further Search for the 'Griffin,' 6 pp. *Ontario Hist.*, Winter. See also Fox, XVI, 145.
- WILLOUGHBY, W. R., The St. Lawrence Waterway Understandings. *International Journal*, Autumn, 1955.

VIIIa. Seaports and Coastal Areas—North America and General

- ADAMS, E. P., *Setauket: the First Three Hundred Years, 1655-1955*, 108 pp. New York, David McKay, 1955. Community on north shore of Long Island, with some account of its shipbuilding.
- ALEXANDER, R. C., *Ho! for Cape Island?*, 126 pp. \$3.00. Cape May, N. J., Cape May County Hist. Soc. History of Cape May City, N. J., a celebrated shore resort in the early nineteenth century.
- BLANCHARD, D. C. A., *Nantucket Landfall*, \$3.50. New York, Dodd, Mead. History of Nantucket from Indian times to the present.
- BROOKES, I. S., A Summer Trip down the River. *SBF*, March. Down the north shore of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to the Gulf in small steamer.
- CORINA, J. A., National Cargo Bureau, 3 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, April. The Bureau 'keeps a vigilant eye on the practices of cargo stowage in American ports.'
- CHAMBOURNE, A. H., *Maine Place Names and the Peopling of its Towns*, 538 pp. \$7.50. Portland, Me., Bond, Wheelwright.
- CHAPIN, MIRIAM, *Atlantic Canada*, 186 pp. \$3.50. New York, Oxford. Maritimes and Newfoundland, current impressions.
- COCCOLA, RAYMOND DE, & KING, PAUL, *Ayorama*, 316 pp. \$1.50. New York, Oxford. Description of the Canadian Central Arctic and its people.
- DURE, F. R. E., Economic Importance of the Port of Miami, 7 pp. *Miami Econ. Research*, Oct. 1955.
- Few People Know our Port, 3 pp. *Municipal News* (Municipal League of Seattle), 5 May.
- GINGELL, BROUGHTON, British and American Tugs: Equipment and Methods of Operation, 2 pp. *Tow Line* (Moran), April.
- HAWORTH, THOMAS, Port Accounting: The Management of Financial Records, 5 pp. *D&HA*, March.
- Hudson River Ice, 2 pp. *Tow Line*, Feb. Pictures, with brief comments.
- LEITCH, ADRIAN, The Ships of Seven Islands, 4 pp. *S&S*, Summer. Sudden boom on St. Lawrence north coast, as outlet for Labrador iron ore. See also Brookes above.
- MALTORY, P. R., see Sect. XIV.
- NEVARD, JACQUES, Men, Muscle and Machines Keep Cargo Moving in Port, 2 pp. *N. Y. Times*, 6 May, p. 120.
- PLUMMER, H. C., The Free Port in New Orleans, 2 pp. *Canadian Shipping*, April. Analysis of ten years of operation.
- Port of Palm Beach, 5 pp. *World Ports*, Feb.
- RYAN, J. J., Harbor Police Keep Alert, Though They No Longer Look for Pirates. *N. Y. Times*, 8 April, 1, 86.
- SCOTTED, J. L., see Sect. V.
- SEABY, J. J., *History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro*, 2 vols., 627, 581 pp. \$25.00. Portland, Me., Bond, Wheelwright. Maine coast community: Vol. 1. The colonial and federal periods; Vol. 2. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Waldoboro had a very active maritime tradition.
- FOOTH, F. S., The Rapid Turn Round of Ships: Effects of Loading Operations on the Speed and Cost of Discharge, 4 pp. *D&HA*, Dec. 1955.
- The Unsung Workers of Our Ports, 2 pp. *U. S. Shipping*, April. Seven pictures of tugs, lighters, dredges, etc., with brief comments.
- U. S. A. Foreign Trade Zones: Review of Facilities and Services, 3 pp. *D&HA*, March. Accounts of New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. See also Plummer above.
- WENTWORTH SHIELDS, F. E., Early Concrete Marine Structures, 2 pp. *D&HA*, Feb.

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- BATES, MARSTON, *Italik, Lonely Paradise of the South Seas*, 25 pp. *Nat. Geog.*, April. Atoll in Micronesia.
- BOXER, C. R., *Mozambique: The Vicissitudes of an East African Colony*, 8 pp. *History Today*, Feb.
- CLARKE, A. C., *The Coast of Coral: Adventures Underwater and along the Shores of the Great Barrier Reef*, 208 pp. \$5.00. New York, Harper.
- COOMBE, P. W., *Food Inspection in the Port of London*, 5 pp. *D-HA*, Jan.
- CRACKNELL, B. E., *The Story of Thameshaven*, 3 pp. *PLA Monthly* (Port of London Authority), Dec.
- DIKE, K. O., *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs), 256 pp. \$4.80. New York, Oxford.
- FRIETH, ZAHRA, *Kuwait was my Home*, 164 pp. 16s. London, Allen & Unwin. History and description of the Persian Gulf locality before and after the discovery of oil, by the daughter of a former British political agent there.
- GOODRICK, JAMES, *The Port of Hull*, 3 pp. *World Ports*, April. See also 'The Humber Ports,' XVI, 84.
- LEGARDA, B. F., *Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century Philippines*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard, 1955.
- MCCRATH, PATRICK, ed., *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth Century Bristol* (Bristol Records Soc. Pub. Vol. 19), 315 pp. 25s 6d to non members. Bristol, The Society. A collection of pertinent documents complementary to the Society's earlier volume on the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, XIII, 219; see also XV, 236.
- PEDLER, F. J., *Economic Geography of West Africa*, 232 pp. 16s. London, Longmans.
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- The Port of Callao, Peru, 4 pp. *D-HA*, Feb.
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- REED, A. W., *Auckland: The City of the Seas*, 352 pp. 25s. Wellington, Reed & London, Phoenix House.
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- SCOTT, M. A., *Boca de Ceniga*, 4 pp. *Motor Boating*, Nov. Experiences of a Lykes freighter crossing the difficult Magdalena River bar on approach to Barranquilla.
- SEATH, FREDERICK, *A Pentland Crossing*, 13 pp. *Blackwoods*, Feb. Pentland Firth and the Scapa Flow region.
- STORM, E. B., *The Historic Port of Woolongong*, 5 pp. *Port of Sydney Jour.*, Jan.-March. Outlet for New South Wales coal since mid-nineteenth century.
- SWEETMAN, K. W., *Botany Bay: The Growth of a Seaport*, 5 pp. *Ibid.*, Oct.-Dec. 1955.

IX. *Shipbuilding and Allied Topics*

- ANGLSON, E. R., *Collingwood is Unique. Canadian Shipping*, Jan. History of Shipbuilding in Ontario port.
- BAMFORD, P. W., *Forests and French Sea Power*, \$5.00. Univ. of Ontario Press. Timber problem of the French navy, 1660-1789, a companion work to Albion's work on the British naval timber problem. Already noted as Ph.D. thesis, XII, 168, 201.
- (BARTRAM & SONS), *Over a Century of Shipbuilding Achievements*, 141 pp. Private circulation. Croydon, Falcon House for Bartram & Sons, South Dock, Sunderland. History of 'old but very live' Sunderland shipbuilding firm established in 1837.
- BATES, L. M., *The 'Mayflower' will Sail Again*, 4 pp. *Sphere*, 21 April. Photographs and sketches of construction details, with brief comments.
- BLANDFORD, P. W., *Ground Tackle*, 2 pp. *Rudder*, Jan. Various lighter types of anchors.
- CORNELIUS, J. T., *Indo-Aegean Boat Designs and their Ethnological Identification*, 10 pp. *Jour. of Indian History*, Aug. 1955.
- Here's How It's Done at Sun, 6 pp. *ME&L*, April. Development of Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., at Chester, Pa., completing 541 vessels since 1916.
- LADAGE, JOHN, *Cradle of Modern Ships*, 4 pp. *S&S*, Summer. Workings of the Navy's David W. Taylor Model Basin at Carderoc, Md., near Washington.
- (LYMAN, JOHN), *The Shipbuilders of Bath, Maine*: XI, The Pattens; XII, Nathaniel T. Palmer, 2 pp. *Log Chips*, April.

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- POLLARD, SIDNEY, Ballow-in-Furness and the Seventh Duke of Devonshire, 9 pp. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Dec. 1955. His varied interests included the Barrow Shipbuilding Co.
- PYLE, EDWIN, Tall Shadows in Norway, 6 pp. *Motor Boating*, Feb. Coastal trade and yacht-building in Mandal, 'southernmost town in Norway.'
- REIMER, H., Holland Builds Ships, 3 pp. *Marine News*, Dec. 1955.
- Restoration of the 'Cutty Sark,' *SSNR*, 5 Jan. 'Discovery of hitherto unknown construction details' in refitting of famous clipper.
- SAMERI, L. B., India's Shipping and Shipbuilding, 3 pp. *Marine News*, Feb.

X. Naval to 1939—North America

- BELTS, J. L., *The United States Navy and the Mexican War*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1955. See also the theses of Bauer, XV, 240; Manno, XV, 241.
- BRUCE, R. V., *Lincoln and the Tools of War*, 368 pp. \$5.00. Indianapolis, Bobbs, Merrill. Considerable on Dahlgren and his ordnance work; brief reference to submarines.
- DALY, R. W., Joe Fyffe—Officer and Gentleman, 10 pp. *USNIP*, April. Career and characteristics of Rear Adm. Joseph P. Fyffe, perhaps the most colorful officer of the Old Navy. See also Lederer, XIII, 226.
- FERRIS, A. A., JR., *The Civilian and the Military*, 351 pp. \$6.50. New York, Oxford. A study of 'antimilitarism' in America since colonial times.
- FILICOTT, J. M., USN, The Cold War between Von Dieckrichs and Dewey in Manila Bay, 4 pp. *USNIP*, Nov. 1955. Author, recently deceased, was division officer on 'Baltimore' at Manila Bay. Critical comments on above article by R. E. Krause, USN, *ibid.*, May.
- JACKSON, M. H., *French Privateering in American Waters, 1793-1798: The Failure of a Mission*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard. Covers operations in the Caribbean as well as out of Charleston.
- JOHNSON, A. M., The Battleship 'Maine' and Pier 46, East River, 1 p. *USNIP*, Nov. 1955. Quick decision of Capt. Sigbee to ram pier to avoid collision with passenger steamer, 29 July 1897, six months before sinking of 'Maine' at Havana.
- JOHNSON, L. H., III, *War Politics and Cotton: the Red River Expedition of 1864*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins, 1955.
- LUNNY, R. M., The Great Sea War, 10 pp. *American Heritage*, April. 'Fine printmakers celebrated the heroes and heroics of 1812.' Includes 16 colored plates.
- MACARUSEY, C. E., *Mr. Lincoln's Admirals*, 335 pp. \$5.00. New York, Funk & Wagnalls. The various aspects of Civil War naval operations and administration related through the medium of chapters on Welles & Fox, Farragut, Foote, DuPont, Dahlgren, Worden, Cushing, Winslow, Collins, and Porter. This, with the Pratt volumes indicated below, represents the first comprehensive survey of the naval side of the war since the Scribner trilogy by Ammen, Mahan and Soley in 1883 and Schaf's history of the Confederate Navy in 1887.
- MEADOWS, DAN, *The American Occupation of La Paz* (Early California Travel Series, 31), 31 pp. \$5.00. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson. 1847 episode in Lower California.
- MOOMAW, W. H., *The Naval Career of Captain Hamond, 1775-1779*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Virginia, 1955. Captain Andrew Snape Hamond, RN, later Secretary of the Admiralty, was a very active frigate commander on the American coast.
- MORRISON, E. H., *Major Jonathan Loving Austin (1748-1826), a Kittery Merchant on a Secret Mission to London for Dr. Benjamin Franklin*, 32 pp. New York, Newcomen Society, 1954. Transmission of news of Burgoyne's surrender in ship 'Perch' from Boston to Nantes, 31 Oct.-30 Nov. 1777; followed by confidential mission to Shelburne and others in London.
- Naval Actions in the American Revolution*, 50 cents (35 cents to members), Annapolis, U. S. Naval Institute. Contains the 63 reproductions of action paintings, originally published in *USNIP*, Feb.-Aug. 1955, XV, 241.
- PETERSON, M. L., The Last Cruise of HMS 'Loo,' 55 pp. *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, V, 131, No. 2, 1955. Identification of wreck of British 44, lost on Florida Keys, 5 Feb. 1734. See also XV, 84.
- A Picture Story of the Royal Canadian Navy, 4 pp. *Canadian Shipping*, March. 17 pictures, covering 45 years, from the cruiser 'Niobe' purchased from the Royal Navy in 1910 to the new anti-submarine destroyer 'St. Laurent.' Various other pertinent articles in this annual 'Royal Canadian Navy Issue.'
- PINCAU, ROGER, U. S. S. 'Noa' and the Fall of Nanking, 9 pp. *USNIP*, Nov. Decision of Lt. Cdr. Roy

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- C. Smith to fire on Chinese attacking American civilians, 1927; article keeps citing pertinent passages from 'Navy Regs.'
- FRATT, FELTHER, *Civil War on Western Waters*, 255 pp. \$3.50. New York, Holt. A companion work will cover the *Civil War at Sea* to round out a comprehensive history of the naval war. See Macartney above; also Gosnell, XII, 83.
- ROSCOE, THEODORE, & FREEMAN, FRED, *Picture History of the U. S. Navy: From Old Navy to New, 1776 to 1897*, 386 pp. \$12.50. New York, Scribner. Contains '1200 photographs, drawings, paintings, prints and charts.'
- SAUNDERS, ROBERT, *Newfoundland's Role in the Historic Battle of Lake Erie, September 10th, 1813*, 56 pp. \$2.00. St. Johns, Dick & Co., 1954. The role of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment.
- STERN, P. V., Lincoln at Richmond, 10 pp. *Colliers*, 27 April. Includes details of the naval auspices under which the President visited the burning Confederate capital on 2 April 1865, the day it fell.
- VAN DUERS, G., USN, The Repairs of the 'Swatara,' 2 pp. *USNIP*, May. Building of entirely new wooden cruiser in 1874, nominally as 'great repair' of older, smaller ship of the same name.

XI. Naval to 1939—Other Regions

- ANDERSON, M. S., Great Britain and the Growth of the Russian Navy in the Eighteenth Century, 17 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Detailed research, filling an important gap in Russian naval history, shows that the British assisted the growth in three ways: (a) construction and maintenance of ships; (b) supplying 'a large proportion of the high-ranking officers'; and (c) many Russians receiving training aboard Royal Navy ships or East Indiamen. See also Lockhart and Rea, XV, 318.
- ASHLEY, MAURICE, *Cromwell's Generals*, 256 pp. \$4.50. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1955. Includes a chapter on Blake and the Navy, while Gen. Monk later became an admiral.
- BAILEY, P. W., see Sect. IX.
- BOISANQUET, H. T. A., *The Naval Officer's Sword*, 215. London, HMSO. Based on collections at National Maritime Museum; includes list of sword cutlers with details.
- COBB, DAVID, *Rig of the Day, 1805-1955*, 16 pp., paper. Free. Harwich, England, C. H. Bernard & Sons, Ordnance Buildings. Colored drawings, with ample comments, of six successive uniforms for enlisted men of the Royal Navy.
- COVERLEY, L. J., The British Occupation of Minorca, 6 pp. *Blackwoods*, April.
- COWBURN, P. M., Christopher Gannan and the Wreck of the 'Gloucester,' Part I, 14 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Suspicious circumstances in loss of English frigate with future James II aboard, 1682. To be continued. See also Robinson, XV, 242.
- HARGREAVES, REGINALD, MC, A Question of Arteries, 9 pp. *USNIP*, May. A study of seniority, seniority and selection in high command down through the centuries.
- HILBERT, L. W., *The Role of Military and Naval Attaches in the British and German service, with particular reference to those in Berlin and London, and their effect on Anglo-German relations, 1871-1914*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge Univ., 1955.
- JACKSON, M. H., see Sect. X.
- JAMES, SIR WILLIAM, RN, *The Code Breaker of Room Forty: the Story of Admiral Sir William Hall, Genius of British Counter-Intelligence*, 237 pp. \$4.50. New York, St. Martin's. Already noted under its original British title, *The Eyes of the Navy*, XVI, 139.
- LENN, G. A., *Russia's Japan Expedition of 1852 to 1855*, 208 pp. \$5.00, cloth. (\$4.00, paper). Gainesville, Univ. of Fla. Press, 1955.
- MANUEL, E. M., Fate of the 'Endeavour' Barque, 4 pp. *Sea Breezes*, April. Remains of Cook's first ship were cut up for souvenirs after she was wrecked at Newport, R. I., around 1794 as French whaler 'La Liberte.'
- MCDONALD, DONALD, see Sect. I.
- MERRILL, J. M., British-French Amphibious Operations in the Sea of Azov, 1855, 12 pp. *Military Affairs*, Spring. Successful attack on Kerch, opening up Azov for the destruction of Russian granaries. Date given erroneously on the cover as 1885.
- MORTON, LOUIS, ed., Evolution of Japanese Landing Operations, 10 pp. *Marine Corps Gazette*, April. 'A jury-rigged amphibious doctrine that evolved from the Russo-Japanese War served its purpose until the Allies gained command of sea and air.' By the Pacific expert of the Army history program.

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- MAYER-OLAKES, T. F., *Prince Saionji and the London Naval Conference, being part of Volume One of the Memories of Harada Kumao, entitled Prince Saionji and the Political Situation, translated into English with annotations*, ms. Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1955.
- MONAGAN, J. S., Bermuda Jail Journal, 4 pp. *The Bermudian*, Jan. Prison hulks at Bermuda dockyard in 1848.
- OGA, DAVID, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, 567 pp. 50s. Oxford, Clarendon Press; \$8.00. New York, Oxford. Esp. Ch. 12, The War at Sea, 1689-92, Beachy Head, La Hogue; Ch. 13, The War on Land and Sea, 1692-5.
- PÆRSEN, WILLIAM, The Russian Occupation of Beirut, 1772-74. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, July 1955.
- POWELL, J. W. D., Abraham Parsons: Mariner and Merchant, 7 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Travels in Middle East, 1774-78, with detailed account of British naval complications with Persians around Basra in spring of 1775.
- ROWBOTHAM, W. B., RN, Nile Gunboats, 1884-85, 12 pp. *RUSI*, Feb.
- ROWSE, A. L., *The Expansion of Elizabethan England*, 450 pp. \$5.75. New York, St. Martins, 1955. The second part deals with the Sea Dogs, the colonization of America, and the naval war with Spain.
- SHAW, F. H., *Epic Naval Fights*, 208 pp. 10s 6d. London, Laurie.
- TAYLOR, RAY, *Manning the Royal Navy: the Reform of the Recruiting System, 1847-61* (Julian Corbett Prize Essay), ms. M.A. thesis, London, 1955.
- , The Reform of the Naval Recruiting System, 1852-62. *Bull. Inst. of Hist. Research*, May 1955. Summary of above.
- THORNTON, A. P., *West-India Policy under the Restoration*, 286 pp. \$5.60. New York, Oxford. Esp. Ch. 6, The Defence of the West Indies. See also XV, 314 (slave trade).
- WATSON, ERNEST, RN, The Birth of the Flat Top, 8 pp. *USNIP*, May. Development of the first British carriers during World War I, particularly 'Engadine,' 'Manxman,' and 'Furious.' The author participated in that development.
- WRIGHTMAN, A. E., *Heraldry in the Royal Navy: Crests and Badges of H. M. Ships*, 30s. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. Reproductions of over 400 badges, the battle honors they have won, etc.

XII. World War II

- ASSMAN, KURT, GN, Lt. R. E. Krause, USN, Hitler and the German Officer Corps. *USNIP*, May.
- BUSCH, F. O., *The Drama of the Scharnhorst*, tr. from the German by Eleanor Brockett & Anton Ehrenzweig, 186 pp. 15s. London, Hale. According to a British critic, 'It contributes nothing to history.'
- ECLES, H. E., USN, Some Command Problems and Decisions, 8 pp. *Naval Research Logistics Quar.*, March-June 1955. World War II 'illustration of some consequences of command decisions which are made without regard to their logistic consequences.'
- ELIS, HERBERT, War Came at Pearl Harbor: Suspensions Reconsidered, 13 pp. *Yale Review*, Spring. 'The more recently available sources have added but little to our knowledge of the events that led to our entry into the war.' The author wrote *The Road to Pearl Harbor* in 1950, XII, 88. See also Morton, XV, 243.
- HENDERSON, F. P., USMC, NGI Support in the Solomons, 8 pp. *Marine Corps Gazette*, March. 'A most vital role' played by naval gunfire.
- HILTON, JAMES, H. R. H. *The Story of Philip, Duke of Edinburgh*, \$2.50. Boston, Little, Brown. Includes his naval career.
- LOCKWOOD, C. A., USN, & ADAMSON, H. C., USAF, *Zoomies, Subs and Zeros*, 301 pp. \$3.95. New York, Greenberg. 'Heroic rescues in World War II by the Submarine Lifeguard League.'
- MORTON, LOUIS, see Sect. XI.
- OKUMIYA, MASATAKE, & HARIKOSHI, JIRO, with Martin Cardin, *Zero!*, 424 pp. \$5.00. New York, Dutton. The story of Japanese aviation, emphasizing Japanese 'blunders.'
- OLIVER, F. F., USCG, The 'Odenwald' Incident. *USNIP*, April. USS 'Omaha' and 'Somers' saved German blockade runner off the coast of Brazil, scuttled by her crew; their personnel received \$300,000 salvage award.
- POOLMAN, KENNETH, *Illustrious*, 246 pp. 16s. London, Kimber. A 'rather scrappy and disjointed account' of the war experiences of the British aircraft carrier completed in 1941.
- RICHARD, D. E., USN, et al., *United States Naval Chronology, World War II*, see XVI, 75. Lt.

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 SHILSTONE, H. M., JR., USNR, Origin of the Seabee Name and Insignia, 4 pp. *Civil Engineer Corps Bulletin*, March. Also, James Douglas, USN, 'The Seabees of Today,' 4 pp., *ibid.*
 THOMPSON, R. W., *Dieppe at Dawn*, 155. London, Hutchinson.
 TOSCHI, ELIOS, D., from the Italian by James Church, *Ninth Time Lucky*, 216 pp., 16s. London, Kimber.
 Personal story of naval officer-inventor of 'human torpedoes' and his adventures after capture at sea.
 WRIGHT, H. F., RN, A Night of Peril, 2 pp. *Navy*, Feb. Torpedo bombing of British convoy in port of Tripoli, 19 March 1943.

XIII. Postwar Naval

- ARMENKNECHT, R. F., USN, The Retired Officer in Education, 5 pp. *USNIP*, April.
 The Admiral and the Atom, 8 pp. *Time*, 21 May. Detailed description of Admiral Arleigh Burke, CNO, and the Navy's revolutionary changes. See also Karig, XVI, 75.
 ASTON, W. J., USN Jet Age Carrier, 12 pp. *USNIP*, May. The new 'Forrestal' in active service, with 29 photographs.
 BALDWIN, H. W., The Soviet's Forces—IV; a Study of the Navy, Its Organization, Its Make-Up and Its Strategic Function, *N. Y. Times*, 29 March, p. 4.
 BURKE, A. A., USN, Navy in Transition, 2 pp. *BuShips*, April. Abridgement of address by CNO before National Press Club, 15 Dec. 1955; for fuller text, see *N. Y. Times* et al. for next day. See also 'The Admiral and the Atom' above.
 Carriers—1956, 7 pp. *BuShips*, Jan. Includes brief sketch of USN carrier development from the start.
 CLARK, E. H., JR., *New Construction and Conversion, United States Navy, 1945-1955*, 24 pp., 25 cents to members, Annapolis, U. S. Naval Institute. Amplification of pictorial section in March issue of *USNIP*, with color pictures of 'Forrestal' and 'Mitscher,' and basic statistical data for each class of ships.
 DAVIS, G. H., To Refuel Our Fighting Ships Far Out at Sea under Conditions of Nuclear Warfare, 2 pp. *Ill. London News*, 28 Jan. Fast new tankers ordered by the Admiralty, with diagrams showing fuelling techniques, etc.
 ——— Britain's Changing Navy, 2 pp. *Ibid.*, 7 April. A retrospective glimpse in diagrammatic form of British naval forces from 1919 to the present, showing the decline of the battleship. Shows situation in 1919, 1939, 1954, and 1956.
 DEXTERBRINK, F. C., USN, Cargo Ships Penetrate the Arctic, 5 pp. *National Defense Transportation Jour.*, n.d. 1955.
 DOOLEY, T. A., *Deliver Us from Evil*, \$3.50. New York, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. 'How a young navy doctor miraculously saved 600,000 terrorized Vietnamese from Communist horror' in 1954.
 GONDWASKI, PAUL, Egypt's Blockade in the Gulf of Aqaba, 8 pp. *Midwest Jour.*, Winter.
 HEINE, R. D., JR., USMC, Special Trust and Confidence, 11 pp. *USNIP*, May. Analysis of 'the crumbling prestige of the officer corps' by former head of the Marine Corps historical section.
 HELFNER, M. H., Sea Power and the Struggle for Asia, 9 pp. *USNIP*, April.
 HESSLER, W. H., The National War College—A Civilian Appraisal, 6 pp. *USNIP*, March.
 HURN, E. W., The Navy's Performance Budget—another Step in Military Cost Control, 10 pp. *NACA Bulletin*, Feb.
 KATZENBACH, E. L., JR., Should Our Military Leaders Speak Up?, 3 pp. *N. Y. Times Mag.*, 15 April. The author is the new director of the Harvard Defense Seminar.
 MACNEIL, NEIL, & MEIZ, H. W., *The Hoover Report, 1953-1955: What it Means to You as Citizen and Taxpayer*, 344 pp. \$6.00. New York, Macmillan. Pt. IV, The Big Spender. Ch. 11, Big Defense, Big Business; 12, Food and Clothing; 13, Transportation; 14, Depot Utilization; 15, Research and Development; 16, Surplus Property; 17, Business Organization of the Department of Defense.
 McMULLEN, R. A., USMC, & CANZONA, N. A., USMC, Walni Do: Turning the Key, 8 pp. *USNIP*, March. Marine seizure of small island commanding harbor entrance at Inchon, Korea, 15 Sept. 1950.
 MANSEGER, SIR AUBREY, RN, The New Officer Structure of the Navy, 2 pp. *Navy*, March.
 MILLS, C. W., *The Power Elite*, 423 pp. \$6.00. New York, Oxford. A sociologist's rather extreme

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- charges of a sort of unholy interplay between the 'Political Directorate,' the 'Corporate Rich' and the 'War Lords,' in running the country.
- A Picture Story of the Royal Canadian Navy, see Sect. X.
- SACHAKIAN, H. A., USAF, Risk and Hazard in Logistics Planning, 8 pp. *Naval Research Logistics Quar.*, Dec. 1955. 'The farther logistics practice is removed from military operations, the greater the possibility of erroneously gauging the relationship of logistics to strategy.' See also Eccles, Sect. XII.
- SHANNON, W. H., The Soviet Navy: a Challenge to the Supremacy of the Seas, 8 pp. *Social Studies*, Jan. To be continued. See also Baldwin above.
- SHAW, J. C., USN, What about Duty in Washington?, 6 pp. *USNP*, April.

XIV. Marine Art, Ship Models, Collections, Exhibits

- BOSANQUET, H. T. A., see Sect. XI.
- BRETT, OSWALD, Melbourne's Superb Model, 2 pp. *Sea Breezes*, Feb. Model of clipper "Thermopylae" by Cyril L. Hume of Sydney in Museum of Applied Science at Melbourne.
- Small Craft in the Ryksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 12 pp. *Mariner's Mirror*, May. Old collection of models, principally the 300 from the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia and Philippines. Article includes two photographs and five drawings.
- MALLORY, P. R., *Mystic Seaport—and the Origins of Freedom!*, 32 pp. New York, Newcomen Soc., 1954. Includes brief sketch of the maritime history of the Mystic Valley.
- TUTTLE, W. A., The Ryder Collection of Hudson River Steamboat Models, 3 pp. *SBF*, March.
- WOODING, F. H., see Sect. V.

XV. Bibliography

- BARTLETT, H. H., American Captivities in Barbary, 15 pp. *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Rev.*, May 1955. Includes bibliographical data of the principal contemporary accounts.
- BROMLEY, J. S., & GODWIN, A., eds., *A Select List of Works on Europe and Europe Overseas, 1713-1815* (Oxford 18th Century Group), New York, Oxford.
- MILES, J. R., The Last Voyages in Sail: A Critical Bibliography of Voyage Narratives, 2 pp. *Log Chips*, April. Nine sketches by the new curator of the Serra Museum at San Diego.
- RUONDS, J. B., comp., *Cartographic Records of the Panama Canal* (Preliminary Inventories, No. 91), 72 pp. Washington, National Archives. Includes useful brief historical and bibliographical sketches.
- U. S. FISH & WILDLIFE SERVICE, *Fishery Publication Index, 1920-54: Publications of the Fish and Wildlife Service by Series, Authors and Subjects*, 254 pp., processed, paper. \$1.50. Washington, GPO.

XVI. Periodicals

- Essex Institute Historical Collections*: new format and new editorial board, starting with Jan. 1956 issue. Managing Editor, Benjamin W. Labaree. See XII, 94.
- Maine Coast Fisherman*: editorial offices moved from Portland to Camden, Maine.
- Marine Engineering and Log*: merger of two old journals, *Marine Engineering* now in Vol. 61 and *The Log* in Vol. 51. Ed. L. S. Blodgett, 30 Church St., N. Y. Monthly, \$4.00. First issue, April 1956. Simmons-Roadman Pub. Corp., 1309 Noble St., Philadelphia. 'It is a larger magazine with a balanced combination of engineering and operating information.'
- U. S. Shipping*: A Maritime Publication with a Purpose. Ed. Charles H. Godsoe. Monthly, \$5.00. Started with Jan. 1956 issue, 42 Broadway, New York, 4. 'A new monthly publication dedicated to the task of promoting American shipping.'

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